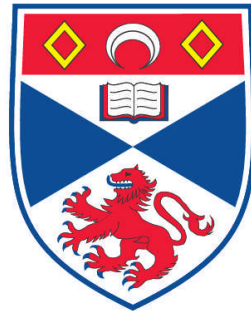


**'DYVERS KYNDES OF RELIGION IN SONDRY PARTES OF THE
ILANDE': THE GEOGRAPHY OF PASTORAL CARE IN
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND**

William Hopkins Campbell

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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William Hopkins Campbell

‘Dyvers kyndes of religion
in sondry partes of the Ilande’:
The Geography of Pastoral Care
in Thirteenth-Century England

*A thesis submitted for the degree of
Philosophiae Doctor
19 June 2006*

Department of Mediaeval History
University of St. Andrews

Abstract

The Church was not the only progenitor and disseminator of ideas in medieval England, but it was the most pervasive. Relations between the ecclesiastical and lay realms are well documented at high social levels but become progressively obscure as one descends to the influence of the Church at large on society at large (and vice versa). The twelfth century was a time of great energy and renewal in the leadership and scholarship of the Church; comparable religious energy and renewal can be seen in late-medieval lay culture. The momentum was passed on in the thirteenth century, and pastoral care was the means of its transfer.

The historical sources in this field tend to be either prescriptive, such as treatises on how to hear confessions, or descriptive, such as bishops' registers. Prescription and description have generally been addressed separately. Likewise, the parish clergy and the friars are seldom studied together. These families of primary sources and secondary literature are brought together here to produce a more fully-rounded picture of pastoral care and church life.

The Church was an inherently local institution, shaped by geography, personalities, social structures, and countless *ad hoc* solutions to local problems. Few studies of medieval English ecclesiastical history have fully accepted the considerable implications of this for pastoral care; close attention to local variation is a governing methodology of this thesis, which concludes with a series of local case studies of pastoral care in several dioceses, demonstrating not only the divergences between them but also the variations within them.

Student's Declarations

I, William Hopkins Campbell, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me; that it is the record of work carried out by me; and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in the month of September 2000, and as a candidate for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in June 2001; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 2000 and 2006.

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews, I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any *bona fide* library or research worker.

Prologue and Acknowledgements

The thirteenth century appears as an era of betwixt and between for the English Church. The twelfth century has long been recognised as a period of intellectual vigour in Latin Christendom, sparked by and continuing the Gregorian Reform; the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are well known as an era of English lay piety, producing countless Perpendicular parish churches and lay mystics such as Margery Kempe. It was largely in the thirteenth century that the momentum passed from the clerical hierarchy, the Church in the narrow sense, to the laity, the Church in the broad sense. Yet the means by which this happened are obscure in the historical record. The use of written English by the Church for such means as sermon books decayed after the Norman Conquest and re-emerged in the fourteenth century. By surrendering claims on manorial churches as private property and donating many advowsons (the right to appoint a parish priest) to religious houses, local lay elites yielded much control over parish churches; the laity began to exercise significant responsibility again in their parishes in the fourteenth century with the rise of churchwardens, but the local relationships between clergy and parishioners in between remain obscure.¹ To be both literal and metaphorical, were the chancel and nave connected with an open arch, or were they divided by a screen?

This thesis does not propose to answer all of these questions. Ultimately this is a study of shepherds, not of sheep, of supply rather than demand. However, further research on the former can shed indirect light on the latter, and it is in this spirit that this work has been undertaken, even if extrapolation from clerical activity to lay disposition is not as full as it might be.

It is now sixty-one years since the appearance of J.R.H. Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, the last published monograph dedicated to covering that subject.² Scholarship in many related fields has come a long way since then: suffice it to mention that Leonard Boyle's entire publishing career came between then and now. As the methodological vistas of history have broadened – even if mine operate on more of a theological and less of a social-scientific axis –, the assistance of other scholars has come to my aid. Professor Robert Bartlett and Professor Chris Given-Wilson, as my supervisors, have given me the most assistance. Professor Joseph Goering of the University of Toronto has been outstandingly generous with his time, ideas and unpublished material; Drs. Carol Davidson Cragoe, Neslihan Şenocak

¹ C.F. Davidson [Cragoe], 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125-c.1250' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998), 55-58. On the active role of the laity in maintaining church buildings during the thirteenth century, see *ibid.*, esp. 119-23.

² Goering, 'Popularisation', was finished in 1977, but has not been published.

and Bert Roest have also kindly supplied me with unpublished material. Correspondence with Drs. David M. Smith, Brian Kemp, Andrew Jotischky and David d'Avray has helped me to find references and hone my ideas. Professor Goering, Dr. Cragoe, Mr. Ryan Renfro and my wife Lucia read parts of my thesis in draft and gave me many useful comments. Among my student colleagues at St. Andrews, Sumi David and Dr. Sally Crumplin stand out for their fruitful dialogue. I am grateful to them all (and others I may have negligently forgotten) for their help, but I claim exclusive credit for every remaining fault and misstep.

For making this study financially possible, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the British Council, through its Overseas Research Student Award Scheme; the Clan MacBean Foundation; the Saint Andrew's Society of Washington, DC; the scholarship fund of the Episcopal Church Women of the Diocese of Pittsburgh; the Jon C. Norwine Scholarship; and the generosity of both my own and my wife's parents. I am also grateful to the Institute of Historical Research for first employing me as Research Editor of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* before my thesis was finished and then giving me the flexibility to complete it. Finally, thanks are due to Lucia and Edmund for tolerating the *paterfamilias* heading off to the office on more Saturdays than any of us cares to recall.

Vigil of St. Botolph, MMVI
Bloomsbury, London

Soli Deo Gloria.

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Abbreviations

*An asterisk * following an entry denotes a primary source.*

- AA Atlas: *The AA Road Atlas, Great Britain and Ireland, 2003* (Windsor: Automobile Association, 2002).
- Acta of Hugh: D.M. Smith, ed., *The Acta of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-1235* (LRS 88, 2000). Cited by document number. *
- Acta Stephani Langton: Kathleen Major, ed., *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1207-1228* (C&YS 50, 1950). *
- AFH: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*.
- AFP: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*.
- AHDLMA: *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*.
- Annales Monastici: H.R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici* (RS 36: in five vols., 1864-1869). *
- Archid. Acta: Brian Kemp, ed., *Twelfth-century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta* (C&YS, 2001). Citation by document number. *
- BIHR: *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (simply *Historical Research* from 1987)
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- BRUO: A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (Oxford, in 3 vols., 1957-59; continuous pagination).
- Bull. Fr.: Joannem Hyacinthus Sbaralea OFM, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum : constitutiones, epistolas, ac diplomata continens [etc.]* (5 vols.; Rome, 1759-1804; using reprint, Assisi, 1983). *
- C&SI: D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, ed., *Councils and Synods: with other Documents relating to the English Church, I: A.D. 871-1204* (in two parts: Oxford, 1981). *
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- CiB III: Richard Copsey OCarm, *Carmel in Britain, Volume III: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham, Kent, 2004).
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- Lan. Chron.: Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI, e Codice Cottoniano Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum* (Maitland Club, 1839). *
- LFMB: Thomas Frederic Simmons, ed., *The Lay Folk's Mass Book; or, The Manner of Hearing Mass* (Early English Text Society, 1879). *
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- RS*: *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages (= Rolls Series)*. London: various printers, 1857-1896. *
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- RTDA*: *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*.
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General Introduction

The parish churches of mediaeval England, from their development in the ninth to twelfth centuries, formed the most basic and ubiquitous units of the spiritual landscape, as cells to a body.¹ The peppering of the landscape with parish churches and their dependent chapels, and the corresponding patchwork of territories allotted to them, constituted the main provider of pastoral care and religious formation for individuals, communities and society as a whole. While there were other loci of devotion, such as shrines; other agents of intercession, such as monasteries; and other sources of pastoral care, such as friars and regular canons, these did not exist in isolation. They existed in parallel with one another within the context of the parish system. Pastoral care and religious devotion were composites, and as such they must be studied as the integration of disparate parts if they are to be understood today as they were by contemporaries.² While it is very difficult to assess the laity's reception of pastoral care, we can study the dissemination of a variety of theories and practices in pastoral care and spiritual life.

Lest carts precede horses, however, 'pastoral care' and 'geography' must be defined and the methodological problems associated with each identified.

Mediaeval Catholic authors' understanding of what constituted pastoral care followed closely the literal meaning of *pastor* as 'shepherd.' The Latin verb *informare* likewise gives us a concise definition of how the mediaeval church saw pastoral care. From this word comes our verb 'to inform,' but its connotations are broader than merely imparting knowledge: *informare* means to impart shape or form, to mould: the Church sought to take individuals and communities, societies and cultures, and recast the same human or societal metal into a new shape. For instance, Pope Innocent III's

¹ J. Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches, 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988).

² G. Rosser, 'Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late-Medieval England', *TRHS* 6th s. 1 (1991), 173-89. Curiously, Rosser does not mention friars.

summons to the Fourth Lateran Council expressed his aspirations for that meeting, including the reform of *mores* (customs, morals, habits). His intent was the reform not of Church structures alone but of all of Catholic society.¹

But perhaps we will do best to ask medieval pastoral thinkers for their own definitions of what they knew as *cura animarum*, the cure or care of souls. In 1287, John Pecham, Franciscan friar and archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to the parish clergy of the diocese of Canterbury that *cura animarum* operated through the preaching of sermons and the celebration of the sacraments, most especially the hearing of confessions (with attendant instruction on how to lead a more upright life in the future).² All of these will be considered in this study.

Pecham, being a friar concerned especially with preaching, placed it first in his list. Unfortunately, little is known about preaching by parish clergy in the thirteenth century; rather more is known about preaching by friars. It is likely that much catechesis by clergy occurred informally and that general cultural knowledge of the basic tenets of Christianity had evolved since the first arrivals of missionaries and continued to evolve over ensuing centuries, shaped partly by pastoral provision and partly by cultural changes and social realities.

The celebration of the sacraments would have been seen by Pecham as referring to baptism, confirmation (done only by bishops), the Eucharist, the blessing of matrimony, and extreme unction. Ordination was no less of a sacrament, but it had only secondary effects for the laity in that it supplied them with clergy. Sacramental and liturgical pastoral care served many different purposes, but perhaps can best be described as a conversation, lifting up people's

¹ *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. C.R. Cheney and W.H. Semple (London, 1953), 144-47.

² 8 July 1287, Injunctions for the parish clergy of the diocese of Canterbury. *C&S II*, 1078-80; also in *Epist. Pecham III*, 948-49: '...in spiritualibus; utpote in praedicatione verbi Dei et sacramentis ecclesiae dispensandis, et specialiter in confessionibus audiendis'.

praises and petitions to God, and mediating God's blessings back to the people.¹

The practice of confession, known to contemporaries as the sacrament of penance, was the main venue for individual examination, instruction and exhortation, for correction of life and training in moral thought. We do not and cannot know how many people came to confession. While some evidence will be adduced, we will avoid getting bogged down in the question, considering instead the varying ideas of what confession ought to be and to do. The Catholic Church now calls this the sacrament of reconciliation, an idea which would be wholly intelligible to thirteenth-century Christians, as it was seen as achieving reconciliation both to God and to neighbour, in addition to healing the individual wounded by sin. The fact that Pecham separated this sacrament from the rest shows how important he considered it to be.

Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, gave a similar definition in a 1250 proclamation to Pope Innocent IV:

The work of pastoral care consists not only in administering the sacraments, saying the canonical hours, and celebrating masses ... but also in teaching the word of living truth; in the forceful condemnation of vice and wickedness; and in the severe correction of vice, and harsh castigation, when necessary; for the more [the laity] know [about morality], perhaps, the more rare will be the occurrence [of sin].²

Grosseteste gave essentially the same content as Pecham, especially if some of the correction and castigation was intended to take place in confession and penance. Elsewhere, Grosseteste wrote, 'the duty of a priest is to confect the body of Christ worthily, to enjoin penances, and (so far as he can) to recall his flock from errors; to baptise little ones, and to anoint the sick with extreme unction.'³ The three

¹ C. Burgess, 'Intersecting Spheres: The Agents of Intercession.' Paper given at the Harlaxton Symposium, July 2002.

² R. Grosseteste, *The Lyons Sermon (1250)*, trans. G. Jackson (Lincoln, 1997), 16-17.

³ 'Officium enim sacerdotis est digne conficere corpus Christi, poenitentias iniungere, et gregem suum in quantum poterit ab erroribus revocare, baptizare parvulos, languidos Extrema Unctiona ungere.' 'Deus Est', 254.

elements also appear in the first chapter of his statutes for parish clergy.¹

A third opinion comes from the *Communiloquium*, a preacher's handbook by the thirteenth-century Franciscan John of Wales. Listing the duties of a priest, he included preaching and catechising (preaching); baptising and celebrating the mass (the sacraments); and 'calling sinners to repent and encouraging them to purge themselves through their prayers.'² Assuming that the last part refers to confession, we find consensus here too with Pecham's definition.

As one of the purposes of pastoral care was to lead people closer to God, devotional practices of many different kinds were also encouraged by clergy: devotions to particular saints, especially Mary, and a variety of devotions to Jesus, especially as the consecrated host at the Eucharist, continued to develop and spread during the thirteenth century and beyond. Surely Swanson is right in arguing that the laity had a major role to play in the spread of devotions, leading by demand;³ but the official structures of the Church had appreciable ability to shape that demand, for instance by issuing indulgences to visitors to a shrine or by suppressing unapproved nascent cults.

The idea that pastoral care and religious life have and had a geographical element is hardly new. Thirty years ago, Martin Brecht argued that 'The interdependence of the historical survey and the intensive research into detail should perhaps be generally even more clearly and consciously acknowledged and practised today than it is already.'⁴ Improvements have been seen since then in our field of concern, but methodological problems continue to plague our expression of that interdependence in practice.

¹ C&S II, 268.

² J. Swanson, *John of Wales* (Cambridge, 1989), 144 (quoting here Swanson, not John himself).

³ R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 9 and *passim*.

⁴ M. Brecht, 'The Significance of Territorial Church History for Church History in General', *SCH* 11 (1975), 341-53, at 344-45.

Monographs and textbooks that seek to give broad illustrations are unquestionably useful, but for the history of religious observance and the pastoral care that fostered it in the Middle Ages, they suffer from one major weakness. The reality of past religious life was regionally and locally distinctive, and the best sources that the historian can use to approach it tended either to promote such distinctness (as with diocesan statutes) or to describe locally observable characteristics (charters and bishops' registers). Within the literature on mediaeval England, there have been numerous acknowledgements of both the local nature of the Church and the need for studies of its geography. Swanson has noted that 'The main access to the faith was through the local structures', both parish clergy and mendicant friars.¹ Partly reflecting this problem, Swanson admitted in his survey of later-mediaeval religion that 'almost every positive statement made [in this book] could be qualified virtually out of existence.'²

In contrast to locally-applicable documents, sources that were more ubiquitous in scope, such as the pronouncements of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, tend to reflect far less accurately the world that people experienced, as Gibbs and Lang demonstrated seventy years ago.³ Attempts to give broad-brush descriptions are thus caught between using locally-relevant sources as if they illustrate general trends (which they often do not) and using broadly-intended sources as if they determined local realities (which they often did not). The only solution to this conundrum, and that which will be followed below, is to make reference to the geographical disparities of pastoral care frequently enough to keep it at the forefront of thought, not only for the reader but for the author as well.

The other received method of writing about mediaeval religious life is specific regional and local studies. These have two virtues. In theory, they supply a historiographical need in that broader trends in

¹ R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 51-52.

² R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), p. viii.

³ *Bishops and Reform*.

cultural and social history only existed as the sum of local components. In practice, once the right questions have been asked, case studies are easier to write accurately than surveys because the source base is more manageable in scope and more directly related to people's actual experience.

Local case studies standing by themselves typically avoid the Scylla of mixing and matching sources that describe realities never found together in practice, but they may veer into the Charybdis of losing sight of the larger picture. Furthermore, it is easy for the reader of a local study to make the same error as the writer of the general text, inappropriately applying certain conditions to localities where they did not prevail. The only solution to this conundrum is a series of internally comparative case studies that can measure the prevalence of local exceptionalism and illustrate the variations of practice.

Finally, even in studying a single locality or region, changes over time can be given too little recognition, especially at the smaller scale. The different experiences of people in the same parish thirty years apart should no more be juxtaposed than the different experiences of people on the same day thirty miles apart. It is only when all of these geographical and temporal qualifications are first raised that some degree of consensus about general trends can begin to emerge.

A few studies have already demonstrated the existence of a geography of pastoral care. Mason compared and contrasted the areas surrounding Westminster Abbey and Worcester Cathedral to determine the differences between town and countryside, respectively, in such matters as the degree of power and wealth of lay patrons and the literacy of the laity.¹ Biller examined diocesan statutes, confessors' manuals, and other such regionally-distributed *pastoralia* to glean differences in attitude toward women, children, family and sexual issues between north-western and Mediterranean Europe.² Brown's

¹ E. Mason, 'A Truth Universally Acknowledged', *SCH* 16 (1979), 171-86.

² P. Biller, 'Marriage Patterns and Women's Lives: A Sketch of a Pastoral Geography', in P.J.P. Goldberg, ed., *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society, c. 1200-1500* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1992), 60-107.

book on the diocese of Salisbury makes many good points on variations in pastoral care and religious observance and their relationship to other aspects of geography within the diocese;¹ Dohar's work on Hereford diocese is an excellent case study of the episcopal direction of pastoral care.² Dohar wrote in the hope that other scholars would make similar investigations of other dioceses in the fourteenth century and how they responded to the challenges of the Black Death to enable comparative discussion,³ but ten years on such parallel volumes have not come forth. All comparative regional studies and many single-locality case studies take it as 'a truth universally acknowledged that the practice of religion will be influenced by the social conditions prevailing in any given locality,'⁴ but few works on religion in high- to late-mediaeval England, despite other merits, have come close to addressing or overcoming the methodological difficulties outlined above.

The case studies in Part III of this thesis are designed with all of the foresaid problems in mind, and they consciously fill a particular niche left vacant by all the literature I have found on religious life in thirteenth-century England. It would be ideal to provide fully cross-referenced case studies of every diocese, but the length of such a work would render it too unwieldy, or else so much depth would have to be sacrificed for breadth that the project would become meaningless. Here three diocesan case-studies and three related chapters give material for comparison between dioceses and between the Provinces of Canterbury and York. Thus this thesis fills a gap in scope between Biller's and Brentano's works on the one hand, which emphasise the differences between but not within large regions, and Brown's and Dohar's on the other, which note variations within individual dioceses but offer little by comparison with others. In order to highlight

¹ A. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late-Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995).

² W.J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA, 1995).

³ Dohar, *Black Death*, ix.

⁴ Mason, 'A Truth Universally Acknowledged', 171.

differences between dioceses, each chapter begins with a survey of diocesan (or metropolitan) direction of the care of souls; to avoid temporal juxtaposition, each of these sections is a chronological narrative. The three diocesan case-studies then consider comparatively various regions and parishes within each diocese in such depth as the sources allow. It is natural but unfortunate that rural areas are less well documented than urban ones; the importation of new pastoral ideas is much easier to trace in downtown Oxford than on the moors of Devon or Cumbria, and further scholarship on rural religion remains a desideratum.

No illustration of pastoral geography can have razor-sharp delineations. If a priest from one diocese moved to another, even if just a few miles across the border, he would have taken with him ideas on pastoral care, and possibly documents on pastoral care, applying the principles of one diocese in the confines of another. This could have resulted in considerable blurring and blending of influences not only between dioceses but even between provinces.

The same situation applies to convents of friars. While friars were most often found in towns, they usually lived in the suburbs and went beyond the immediate settlement in their pastoral work and in their quest for alms. The extent of their influence would be affected by two factors. The first is the number of friars licensed for the *cura animarum* in the house at any given time, a question of density. The second is the specific territory allotted to each house, by agreement with the nearest houses of its order, in which pastoral work and begging could be undertaken. Unfortunately, we have only scattered chance survivals of population of mendicant convents at any time before the Dissolution, and no direct records of the boundaries surrounding mendicant houses. We may, however, make guarded conjectures about both from such information as earlier and later records of the number of brothers in a house, the age of a house (a very new one probably had a minimal number of friars), and the proximity of neighbouring houses. For instance, in areas of few

friaries, such as Wales, the districts must have taken in much more countryside than the friars could conceivably reach pastorally, even if they took all possible opportunities, while in the diocese of Norwich, the densest of any English diocese in friaries and towns by 1300, there could have been few if any unreached areas. In our diocesan case-studies in Part III, we will find friars active up to forty miles from their convents, typically along well-travelled roads. Moreover, as will be seen in Part II, the different orders of friars had different priorities, but they did not exist in isolation from one another. They heard one another's sermons and read one another's writings, and it is doubtful that friars could have avoided accepting ideas from other orders, any more than that parish clergy could ultimately avoid adopting some principles of their rivals.

Nonetheless, we may speak of the difference in tendencies and influences both between pastoral regular orders and between dioceses and consider the likely outcomes of these tendencies. In the geographical analysis, a number of general assumptions will be followed. The first is that the parish clergy and people tended towards a conservatism that may be vaguely described as pre-Scholastic, and that they were likely to follow custom rather than new ideas in the absence of outside interference. For our purposes, that outside interference took the forms of textual dissemination of statutes and other *pastoralia* (especially when some enforcement was put behind their use), the diocesan *magisterium* of bishops and archdeacons, and the preaching and shriving of the friars.

This is to accept as a working hypothesis the argument of Beryl Smalley in her article 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, 1100-1250'.¹ In the early twelfth century, 'new' was a slight, 'newfangled'; but by the mid-thirteenth century, it had taken on the sense of 'progressive'. This change in attitude, Smalley argued, was driven along because the sheer 'pace of events imposed it. Unprecedented phenomena [such as the mendicants] sprang up like mushrooms' and needed to be

¹ B. Smalley, 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, 1100-1250', *SCH* 12 (1975), 113-31.

explained and defended.¹ Similarly, Haskins argued that for most of the map ‘Naturally ideas and information spread only slowly, and against great resistance, from one district to another; custom determined everything, and the type differed little from age to age’, while ideas flowed chiefly between ‘stations of high tension ... communicating with other stations of the same type with comparatively little reference to distance ... [these] consisted mainly of monasteries and cathedrals, courts, towns, and universities.’² Applying these argument to this study, it would follow that places under a constant barrage of new pastoral ideas and methods, by comparison with those largely exempt from them, not only would have accepted more of these new ideas by a given date, thus being more in line with current Scholastic pastoral thought, but also might be more welcoming of yet more changes. Therefore, openness to or rejection of developments in the care of souls may have become engrained mindsets. We must not stretch this line of reasoning too far: the point is only to demonstrate grounds for the working hypothesis that, where we see plenty of evidence of new influences on pastoral care, we should expect the theory to be translated somewhat into practice, while when such influences were lacking, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may assume that established practice prevailed. Therefore, by studying the geographical distribution of the dissemination of new pastoral theologies, through both personnel and texts, it should be possible to describe a landscape of pastoral care in thirteenth-century England, as the laity knew it, in a much more variegated manner than has been attempted hitherto.

Some restrictions have been necessary to render this task manageable. The period has been limited, roughly, to the years 1200-1300; some earlier developments will be discussed, as they set the stage for the thirteenth century, but care has been taken not to read fourteenth-century developments back onto a time when they may not

¹ Smalley, ‘Novelty’, 116.

² C.H. Haskins, ‘The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 1 (1926), 19-30, at 20-21. As Haskins discusses friars on 22-23, by ‘monasteries’ he means all religious houses.

have been known. The geographical expanse has been limited not only to England but for the most part to those areas for which richer documentation still exists. This is not to suggest that the Church in England was not an integrated part of a trans-national entity,¹ nor that pastoral care was any less vital in dioceses or areas not considered here. Intellectual history is only examined in pursuit of its potential effects on the laity and their clergy.

Before examining the regional diversity within the pastoral care of parish priests and mendicant friars, these two groups of pastoral clergy will be considered as classes, for some characteristics would be common in influencing each of these classes. As befits the ubiquity of parishes, parish clergy will be considered in Part I, with what influences shaped their pastoral care of their parishioners, especially liturgy, custom, experience and common themes found in the statutes bishops issued for their dioceses and in other instructional literature on pastoral care. In Part II, the mendicant friars will be considered, both as a whole and in their different orders; the Franciscan and Dominican orders began their pastoral work in England in the 1220s, the Carmelite and Austin friars joining them later in the century. Pastoral care as offered by other religious orders or establishments will be considered as well. Despite the numerical predominance of parish clergy compared to regulars, Part II is rather longer than Part I. This unevenness is illusory, however, as secular clergy will return to the fore in Part III. Parish clergy were more affected than regulars by diocesan conditions and need to be considered on that basis; regular orders crossed and, to some extent, transcended diocesan boundaries, so the theoretical foundations involved in discussing their pastoral care are best disentangled from diocesan divisions. These foundations being laid, forays into the spiritual geography of thirteenth-century

¹ On the relationships between England and Rome, see, *inter alia*, Brentano, *Two Churches*; Cheney, *Innocent III*; J.E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III* (Cambridge, 1984); and C.H. Lawrence, ed., *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1965).

England will be made, teasing out information on the variations found from place to place and time to time.

Although not every part of England will be considered, many of the principles established here are also applicable to other regions of England, and, with careful use, *mutatis mutandis*, to areas outside of it, though these may present unique methodological problems. Northern France or southern and eastern Scotland might be treatable in much the same way as England, for example; but in Ireland, where ethnic antipathy could strongly effect how far Gaelic clergy followed the leadership of Anglo-Norman bishops, the problem of the relationship between diocesan prescription and parochial enactment would be greatly amplified. Nonetheless, only close scrutiny and comparison of localities and times will allow us to construct a more genuine understanding of lived religion in the Middle Ages. As further detailed exploration is undertaken, we might profitably think of ourselves as being much closer to the beginning of that process than to the end.

PART I:

Pastoral Care in the Parish

Ars est artium regimen animarum.

-Gregory the Great, *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*, I.1.

I.1: Introduction.

Because thirteenth-century churchmen were comfortable in their subdivision of the care of souls into preaching, the sacraments and confession, we will follow it in studying them.

When considering the preaching of the parish clergy, other types of teaching and catechesis, both formal and informal, will be evaluated alongside sermons *per se*. This is how most laypeople learned the Church's standards on faith and morals, and so despite the lack of manuscripts or direct records of sermons and lessons by parish priests, it is necessary to draw together in chapter 4 what evidence can be found.

The mediaeval church was a sacramental church, and the parish was the main institution through which the sacraments were administered. The seven sacraments as such were probably first enumerated in Paris by Peter Lombard in his *Sentences* (ca. 1158), which became the standard textbook on theology.¹ Ordination provided parishes with priests; baptism, Eucharist, penance and extreme unction were administered by them; matrimony was to be undertaken in their presence; confirmation was administered by the bishop, probably when passing through the parish. Other liturgies, such as burying and praying for the dead, also occurred in the parish. However, because the mass was the rite and sacrament most often attended by the laity, it will be the focus of chapter 5.

Outside of liturgy, confession was the most influential of the sacraments: as Biller has argued, 'So much of the medieval Church *was* this system of confession and penance, with all its ramifications.'² The effects of penance spanned the personal, social and spiritual dimensions.³ Many thirteenth-century authors followed the metaphor of priest-penitent-sin-penance as doctor-patient-illness-medicine, and some developed sophisticated theories for physicians of

¹ ODCC, 'Peter Lombard' and 'Sacrament'.

² P. Biller, 'Introduction', in *Handling Sin*, 3-33, at 20.

³ W.H. Campbell, 'Theologies of Reconciliation in Thirteenth-Century England', *SCH* 40, 84-94.

the soul.¹ By writing simple tracts to help parish clergy administer this sacrament, many of which survive, bishops and theologians have also left a trail of breadcrumbs for the historian to follow. These will be examined in chapter 6.

Historians always begin their tale *in medias res*. Before these three aspects can be examined, we will look in chapter 2 at the condition of the parish clergy and parish churches in the first two decades of the century to trace their immediate lineage and to describe the effects of the interdict and their recovery from it. In chapter 3 the parish clergy's education and preparedness to administer the care of souls will be evaluated. Chapter 7 will assess the position of the parish clergy among the people they were to serve.

¹ E.g. *Templum*, 38; M. Miller, 'Displaced Souls, Idle Talk, Spectacular Scenes: Handlyng Synne and the Perspective of Agency', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 606-32.

I.2: The Early Thirteenth Century (ca. 1200-ca. 1220)

Although the thirteenth century, especially after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, has long been acknowledged to be a period of vigorous reform in the Latin Church, reform did not appear *ex nihilo* in that year. In England, ‘by the thirteenth century a whole machinery had been put into place to promote, teach, exemplify, coordinate and correct ideas and representations which touched upon the cosmology and the story of salvation associated with the Christian church.’ This comprised ‘the parochial grid ... overlaid by a reformed and activist episcopacy’ guided by canon law increasingly directed towards the ends of the pastoral care of the laity, manifesting the developing pastoral thought of the preceding two centuries.¹ Thirteenth-century reform built upon these foundations.

A. Lateran III and After

The Third Lateran Council, which met in March 1179, was the most recent major central push for reform in the Latin Church, though only ten of its twenty-seven canons would be applicable to pastoral care in an English context. Bishops were charged with ordaining to the priesthood only men over twenty-five years of age, and of good learning and character;² the procedure for excommunications was clarified;³ benefices were not to be left vacant for more than six months;⁴ incontinent priests were commanded to surrender either their mistresses or their titles;⁵ pluralism and non-residence were curtailed;⁶ gifts to parish churches (such as liturgical ornaments) had to be kept by the churches and not sold by the priest to his profit;⁷ quick settlement was required in disputes over who was

¹ M. Rubin, ‘What did the Eucharist mean to Thirteenth-Century Villagers?’ in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, ed., *Thirteenth Century England IV* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992), 47-55, at 48-49.

² *DEC*, 212-13.

³ *DEC*, 214.

⁴ *DEC*, 215.

⁵ *DEC*, 217-18.

⁶ *DEC*, 218-19.

⁷ *DEC*, 219.

rector of a church;¹ each cathedral was to support a *magister* to teach its chapter and poor scholars without charge;² and provisions were made to facilitate the founding of hospitals and leper colonies.³ While not perhaps a comprehensive programme of reform, the canons, when followed, would have raised the standards for the practitioners of pastoral care at the parish level, offered some of them some access to further education, prevented them from abusing their position, and ensured that they were present to minister to their flocks.

It was after the Third Lateran Council that handbooks on pastoral care aimed at the level of the parish clergy began to appear. Leonard Boyle has ascribed the timing of their appearance not only to the impact of the Council but also to the awareness that the growing body of theology on the sacraments needed to be disseminated, the recognition that the parish clergy were a valuable component of the Church's mission who needed and were requesting access to the fruits of scholarship, and the development of the *summa* as a genre conducive to connecting the former to the latter.⁴ The influence of the practical theologian Peter the Chanter (d. 1196) in Paris was also significant, and English students and colleagues of his returned to their homeland or sent writings there.⁵ It was, however, a slow and experimental beginning, for 'there was precious little available by way of *pastoralia* to the ordinary, run-of-the-mill priest in his *cura animarum* before about 1200.'⁶ The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Gerald of Wales (circa 1197), a work deeply indebted to Peter the Chanter's *Verbum Abbreviatum*, was still too long, too demanding, and too

¹ DEC, 220.

² DEC, 220; see also the next chapter.

³ DEC, 222.

⁴ L.E. Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals,' in F. Liotta and R. Tofanini, ed., *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), 45-56.

⁵ J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton, 1970).

⁶ Boyle, 'Inter-Conciliar Period', 46; see also Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 86.

expensive for the great mass of parish clergy, its purported readership.¹

Legislation was another way of disseminating information, including by punctuating prescriptions and proscriptions with theological explanations. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was to be followed in England by a deluge of diocesan constitutions designed, among other purposes and to varying degrees, to effect its decrees;² several of these will be discussed in Part III under their individual dioceses. But some important diocesan constitutions preceded Lateran IV, based on Lateran III and the works of twelfth-century canonists, strengthening the papacy-to-parish channel that would direct Lateran IV's canons.

At the Legatine Council at York in 1195, Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury, acting as a papal legate, issued canons – whether for the Northern Province or only the diocese of York is not clear – regarding clerical behaviour and discipline, including pastoral care. Canon 1 deals with the celebration of the Eucharist, canon 2 with bearing the Host to visit the sick, canon 4 with Eucharist and penance, canon 5 with the appropriate number of godparents for a child being baptised.³ Although only one injunction was the clear result of Lateran III, there was new material in these chapters, embodying the idea of using local legislation to raise pastoral standards. The York council was attended by the beneficed parish clergy (rectors) of York diocese and their supervisors, the officials (perhaps meaning archdeacons or archdeacons' officials) and rural deans, so the dissemination of these directions for pastoral care was direct to many of its practitioners. Vicars and chaplains could have received the directions either from their rectors or from their archdeacons or rural deans.⁴

¹ This may explain why it exists in only one manuscript (Sharpe, *Handlist*, 135). On Gerald's use of Peter, see E.M. Sanford, 'Giraldus Cambrensis' Debt to Petrus Cantor', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1945), 16-32.

² *Bishops and Reform*, *passim*.

³ Two of the child's sex and one of the opposite. This is a limit, suggesting that more were customary.

⁴ C&S I, 1042-52.

Archbishop Hubert held another council in September 1200, this time as archbishop in his own Province of Canterbury, in which he met not with parish clergy but with monastic officials and ten bishops of his province; therefore its dissemination to parish clergy was wholly dependent upon the bishops' cooperation. Unlike his council in York, 'The canons of the council show much dependence on the Lateran Council of 1179 and draw on recent decretal letters' and other recent sources; like the 1195 canons, they deal with 'administration of the sacraments and clerical behaviour [more] than earlier laws [did], in this respect foreshadowing the statutes of thirteenth-century English bishops for their dioceses.'¹ A short set of what appear to be diocesan statutes based on them and written 1200 x 1215 follows them in one manuscript.²

Thus reforming legislation had been promulgated by Archbishop Hubert in both English provinces by the turn of the thirteenth century with the aim of improving pastoral care of the laity. York diocese, and possibly its neighbours Durham and Carlisle dioceses (the three constituting the Province of York in England), began the thirteenth century with a short set of directions for pastoral care being placed directly into the hands of parish clergy, while Canterbury Province was given a more extensive and up-to-date set of directions that may or may not have been disseminated in its original form to parish clergy at the time. It is clear, however, that it did have longer-term effects, as bishops over the ensuing decades mediated the principles of its canons to the pastors of their dioceses through their own diocesan constitutions and through individual injunctions to diocesan officials to pass on to parish clergy.

B. Interdict

The progress of English ecclesiastical reform in the early thirteenth century was not to be smooth. On 23 March 1208, Pope

¹ C&S I, 1055-56.

² C&S I, 1057-58, 1070-74.

Innocent III placed all of England under interdict because in 1206 King John had refused to accept the papally-appointed Stephen Langton as Hubert Walter's successor to the See of Canterbury. For six years, various duties involved in pastoral care, including services in parish churches, were prohibited. The historical record shows contemporary confusion regarding precisely which duties were permitted, which were prohibited, and which were done in practice. '[I]t would seem possible that no detailed instructions were issued from Rome ... In these circumstances the settlement of details would naturally fall upon the local ordinaries and they, lacking effective leadership in the absence of an Archbishop, would quite conceivably take differing decisions upon matters of doubt.'¹ This applies not only to bishops but also to parish priests, who would have made decisions in their own parishes if they lacked specific instructions from the bishop, or may even have covertly disregarded some of the prohibitions. In any case, baptism, widely considered the most necessary of sacraments for salvation, was not proscribed, though it may have taken place in houses instead of the parish church, and in 1212 clergy were permitted to give the consecrated host to the dying.² Because consecrated hosts are a product of the mass, this necessarily permitted private celebrations to renew the supply. Overall, the likelihood is that local enforcement was rather more lax, not more stringent, than the official terms (whatever they were). Nonetheless, the interdict was felt in all corners of England by all Christian inhabitants, for flouting it could not have gone unnoticed for long.

Some of the problems of the interdict may be reflected in the diocesan statutes issued by Stephen Langton for Canterbury during the year between his acceptance by King John and the end of the interdict. One major issue was clerical celibacy, which probably

¹ T.M. Parker, 'The Terms of the Interdict of Innocent III', *Speculum* 11 (1936), 258-60; N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches* (Cambridge, 1996), 82-84; Cheney, *Innocent III*, 305-13; *idem*, 'King John and the Papal Interdict', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31 (1948), 295-317.

² Cheney, *Innocent III*, 329. The change was from allowing the dying only to gaze upon the host to physically receiving it.

became far more problematic under the interdict due to a weakened supervisory structure.¹ Another statute forbade the selling or pawning of church-owned valuables, probably also especially tempting when oversight was lax and the items were not being used.² The collection of tithes was to be renewed, suggesting a lapse; parishioners may have been loath to give full payment to clergy who could offer them few services; this may have tempted parish clergy to sell church valuables.³ An injunction not to attend markets on Sundays or feast-days, when people ought to be in church, reflects an old problem doubtless intensified by the long-term closure of churches.⁴ Despite the interdict, many devotional practices could continue, including outdoor preaching and processions, prayers, fasts, and the imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday.⁵

That the laity were eager for the lifting of the interdict is suggested by a sermon Langton gave at St. Paul's Cathedral in August 1213 in which he had to explain the reasons that it had not yet happened.⁶ These terms were fulfilled by the beginning of July 1214,⁷ and the clergy could get back to work for the laity, administering the sacraments, bringing Christ close in the Eucharist, anointing the sick and dying to the health of body and soul, pronouncing the absolution of mortal sins, having the ground consecrated in which friends and relatives had been buried,⁸ and blessing marriages contracted in those years. The resumption of the obligation to confess and do penance may have been less exciting, especially with at least six years' worth of sins to atone for.

Yet recovery cannot have been immediate. Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was the only bishop left in England;⁹ six sees

¹ C&S II, 25-26; C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1955), 14-15, 137-38.

² C&S II, 29.

³ C&S II, 33.

⁴ C&S II, 35.

⁵ C.R. Cheney, 'A Recent View of the General Interdict on England', *SCH* 3 (1966), 159-68, at 162.

⁶ Cheney, *Innocent III*, 348-49.

⁷ C&S II, 36-38.

⁸ Cheney, 'King John', 299.

⁹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 74-88.

lay vacant, and the remaining bishops were all abroad. Since one of the duties of bishops is ordination, England would have been desperately short of priests. Men would have been appointed by patrons and inducted by archdeacons as vicars or rectors of parish churches, but most would have remained in lower orders or even unordained.¹ War and unrest continued until John's death in 1216, and Langton was suspended by the Pope from September 1215 for failing to excommunicate John's enemies as he had been ordered. The suspension was cancelled early the next year, but Langton did not return to Canterbury until May 1218.² Gibbs and Lang characterised the aftermath thus:

A difficult and arduous task lay before the bishops ... They must not only reorganize and reform but they must endeavour to raise both clergy and laity from the lethargy into which they had fallen and inspire them anew with a spirit of zeal and enthusiasm in the service of their religion. ... They did not, however, lack guidance and advice in the work they were to do. On the contrary, a whole programme of reform had been drawn up in a General Council of the Church, held in 1215, the many decrees of which it was their duty to enforce.³

C. Lateran IV and Recovery

Pope Innocent III promulgated a summons in April 1213 for an ecumenical council to meet at the Lateran Basilica in November 1215, 'for the extirpation of vices and the planting of virtues, the correcting of excesses and the reform of customs, the elimination of heresies and the strengthening of faith, the settling of discords and the establishing of peace, the curbing of oppressions and the fostering of liberty; for Christian princes and peoples to hasten to help and support the Holy Land – to be attended to equally by the clergy and the laity – along

¹ C.R. Cheney, 'The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes', *EHR* 75 (1960), 1-29, at 13, and J. Goering, *William de Montibus* (Toronto, 1992), 24-25, show some of the ecclesiastical administration still going on, though Goering is probably mistaken to attribute any of the records of institutions in *Rot. Hug.* I to the interdict period: D.M. Smith, 'The Rolls of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235', *BIHR* 45 (1972), 155-95.

² *C&S* II, 46-47.

³ *Bishops and Reform*, 94-95.

with other reasons too numerous to list individually.¹ The breadth of the Council's decrees was to reflect the breadth of its intent, ranging from the theology of the Trinity and the sacraments to the procedures for electing abbots and bishops to issues of Church-state relations to calling for preparations for a crusade to the Holy Land. '[I]n all the areas of Christian life in which the century saw spectacular achievements, as well as deviations and disasters, the council issued a decree of some relevance.'² Whatever the relationship of cause and effect, this fact attests to the wisdom with which Innocent and the gathered prelates chose matters to raise. In particular, the Council considered many issues directly related to pastoral care. Since Innocent and other influential scholarly prelates had studied at Paris, the Parisian school of practical, moral and pastoral theology determined their approach.³

Among the provisions most frequently discussed by historians is the canon relaxing some of the forbidden degrees of consanguinity in matrimony; the prohibition of marriage to anyone within the seventh degree had outlived its usefulness, and a shorter list was established in its place.⁴ This simplified the parish priest's job in determining eligible couples. The relaxation, however, only held for those married after the decree and so did not legitimate forbidden marriages, meaning that works outlining the old system were still necessary components of a diocesan library.

The most celebrated pastoral canon of the Council is canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, which enjoined that 'All the faithful of either sex ... should faithfully confess their sins alone to their own priests at least once a year' in preparation for receiving the Eucharist at Easter.⁵ This was not entirely novel, as some older authorities had required the confession-satisfaction-reception of Eucharist pattern to

¹ *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. C.R. Cheney and W.H. Semple (London, 1953), 144-47.

² N. Tanner, 'Pastoral Care: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', in G. Evans, ed., *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), 112-25, at 123.

³ A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *TRHS* 6th ser. 3 (1993), 63-64.

⁴ *DEC*, 257-58.

⁵ *DEC*, 245.

be observed leading up to Christmas and Pentecost as well,¹ making *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis* a relaxation. Some English bishops continued to enjoin the older, thrice-yearly form.² Whatever the frequency, canon 21 'had effect [because it] confirmed an existing momentum',³ although that momentum had been encumbered in England by the interdict.

While diocesan chanceries might be expected to have had copies of the Council's statutes, few parish priests would ever have had them, even in a reduced version eliminating inapplicable statutes. It was the responsibility of the bishops to publish and enforce applicable developments in canon law to the clergy of their dioceses: the Council directed archbishops to hold annual councils with the bishops of their provinces, 'in which, diligently and with fear of God, let them correct excesses and reform morals, repeating canon law, especially that which is ruled in this General Council ... and what they rule, let them cause to be observed, publishing them in episcopal synods to be held annually in every diocese.'⁴ While we do not have records of immediate and annual compliance – the first known synodal statutes to follow the Council are those of Richard Poore at Salisbury, 1217 x 1219, and the first provincial council in England after Lateran IV was the Council of Oxford, April 1222 – the spirit of the injunction was to be followed with increasing frequency from the 1220s to about 1290, with several sets of provincial canons and many sets of diocesan statutes disseminating developments of canon law and theology. Moreover, the reduction of royal influence in episcopal elections following John's submission and especially under Henry III gave greater opportunities to theologians to rise to positions of influence.⁵ The bishops and their

¹ E.g. Gratian, *Decretum* (PL CLXXXVII, 1738-39); Penitential of Bartholomew of Exeter, edn. in A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), 271; *C&S* II, 32.

² *C&S* II, 72-73, 236-37, 639.

³ Murray, 'Confession Before 1215', 65; cp. the more persuasive arguments of R. Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in *Handling Sin*, 35-61.

⁴ *DEC*, 236-37.

⁵ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 10. On the sense of resurgence in ecclesiastical fortunes at this time, see P. Binski, *Becket's Crown* (New Haven, 2004), 62-70.

statutes will be considered individually under their appropriate provinces and dioceses in Part III.

1.3: The Formation and Education of the Parish Clergy

The quality of the mediaeval parish clergy, and especially of their education, has been the subject of debate for centuries, in part because the evidence is sparse.¹ The disagreement, although now largely disencumbered of the baggage of the Protestant-Catholic rivalry in which it began, continues even in the twenty-first century. Lawrence argues that 'It was a chronic weakness of the medieval Church that it failed to solve the problem of educating the parish clergy for their task.'² Yet Lawrence, cast in the same mould as Moorman, is at heart a supporter of the parish clergy's better-educated rivals, the friars, and while he uses sources other than the tirades of dissatisfied reformers, his reading of the former is coloured by the latter. For example, Lawrence calls the diagrammatic schemae of Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* 'quaint' and 'vivid testimony to the limitations of the untutored readership they were designed to help', missing both the possibility that the diagrams were designed for quick reference by a priest while hearing a confession and also the cleverness with which this *pastoralium* was designed to be effective in pastoral care despite the priest's limitations.³ (Haines, by contrast, considered it a 'masterpiece of compressed, tabular presentation.'⁴) Denton and Dohar present more positive and balanced views.⁵ To give an accurate assessment, we must consider both the education offered to the clergy and the education demanded of the clergy. In both cases we will find that what is tacit but latent in primary sources is often more telling than what is overt: against the few clergy noted for poor education, for instance, we must set the large majority who were not.

¹ The historiography is surveyed well in J.H. Denton, 'The Competence of the Parish Clergy in Thirteenth-Century England', in C. Barron and J. Stratford, ed., *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society* (Donington, 2002), 273-85.

² C.H. Lawrence, 'The English Parish and its Clergy in the Thirteenth Century', in P. Linehan and J. Nelson, ed., *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), 648-70, at 666.

³ Lawrence, 'English Parish and its Clergy', 666.

⁴ R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana* (Toronto, 1989), 130.

⁵ Denton, 'Competence of the Parish Clergy'; W. Dohar, '*Sufficienter litteratus*: Clerical Examination and Instruction for the Cure of Souls', in *A Distinct Voice*, ed. W. Brown and J. Stoneman (Notre Dame, 1997), 305-21.

This will demonstrate that a positive view of clerical education has much more warrant than a negative one.

The Church accepted the need to provide opportunities for study but did not consider itself responsible for putting every clerk through organised training: the Fourth Lateran Council had only commanded bishops to ensure that ordinands' ability sufficed for celebrating rites and sacraments.¹ Presumably on these legal grounds, the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury rejected presentees to benefices in the following years for insufficient literacy.² This suggests that a standard existed and that most other presentees met it, at least in Lincoln. The Council of Oxford (1222) added that priests should also have a sound understanding of the words of the canon of the mass and of baptism, and that they should be able to teach the latter to the laity in the vernacular.³ In 1296, bishop Sutton of Lincoln dispensed a priest for having been ordained without letters dimissory by another bishop, but only allowed him to say three particular masses for one year; Sutton ordered him in the meantime to study grammar, the canon of the mass 'and other things that pertain to your office' and to return to be examined on them at the end of the year.⁴ The responsibility of acquiring sufficient education was thus laid squarely on the cleric.

The first requirement was pronouncing literacy, the ability to look at the Latin of liturgical texts and speak the words aloud; the second was comprehensional literacy, knowing what the words and grammar meant. That a priest could function with the first and not the second may be seen in a visitation record from the 1220s, though the visitors considered such ignorance intolerable.⁵ Schools in which boys and youths could learn these skills were well-established in

¹ DEC 248, Canon 27; cf. Gratian, *Decretum*, PL CLXXXVII, 207-12.

² *Rot. Hug.* I, 101 (ca. 1217 x 1218). The Salisbury presentation was made between Hilary Term and Easter Term 4 Henry III (1220): *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* vol. 8 (London, 1938), 185, 282; for the hearing of the suit, see *ibid.* vol. 9 (London, 1952), 196-98. See also C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), 136-39.

³ C&S II, 115.

⁴ 'ac aliis quibus ad officium tuum pertinent'. *Reg. Sutton* V, 184; Lincolnshire Archive Office, Episcopal Register I, f. 149r-v.

⁵ *Reg. St. Osmund* I, 304-08.

England before the beginning of the thirteenth century and continued to flourish in an age of growing demand.¹

A third requirement was the ability to read music and to sing the liturgies. In 1277, the bishop of Hereford examined a candidate for ordination and ordered him to spend the next year studying singing.² 'Reading' or 'song' schools existed to teach the rudiments of literacy, apparently to the young, perhaps seven to ten years old.³ A boy who decided young to become a cleric might enter one of these schools, provided that one was available and that his family could and would pay the fees. Likewise, a boy with early education might decide to become a cleric as his literacy would give him a head start. Choristers were supported and taught at secular cathedrals and other secular collegiate churches. A school was attached to St. Mary's collegiate church in Warwick in the 1120s; in the early fourteenth century, the offices of the grammar master (who would teach from Donatus) and the music master (who would teach first letters from the psalter as well as singing and music) were clarified.⁴ At Exeter, choristers were taught in morals and behaviour as well as in music.⁵ Once a boy's voice changed, he could continue his musical training and liturgical experience as a 'secondary' in the choir until he was old enough to take higher orders.⁶ Smaller and less formal reading and singing schools were probably offered by many parish clergy in the countryside as well.⁷ A few parish clergy could have been educated as novices at religious houses but then decided not to take vows, though

¹ N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), esp. 167-93; *idem*, *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548* (Exeter, 1976); P. Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1999), 32-33; T. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in 13th-Century England* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1991); M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1993), 240-46.

² *Reg. Cantilupe*, 124.

³ Orme, *English Schools*, 60-62.

⁴ C. Fonge, ed. *The Cartulary of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick* (Woodbridge, 2004), nos. 20-1, 5.

⁵ *Reg. Bronescombe III*, p. 67; Orme, *West of England*, 45. For the choristers and other boys in the liturgy at Lincoln Cathedral, see *Reg. Ant. II*, 391, 405, 429, 442-477.

⁶ N. Orme, 'The Medieval Clergy of Exeter Cathedral, II: The Secondaries and Choristers', *RTDA* 115 (1983), 79-100.

⁷ Orme, *English Schools*, 64-67; Moorman, *Church Life*, 102-09.

monasteries were probably more of a drain than a supplier of educated parish clergy.¹

In addition to formal education in the reading or singing school, an aspiring cleric could learn by assisting the parish priest. Two continental examples illustrate a pattern probably common in England as well. John of Parma, born in 1208, who became Minister General of the Franciscan order in 1247, had been educated by his uncle, a parish priest; St. Dominic had been handed over by his parents at an early age to be taught by his uncle, a rural dean.² The higher echelons of the English church were populated by clerical families – the Langtons, the Giffards, the Poores – and there is no reason to doubt that this also occurred at the parochial level, more so than mediaeval surnames allow us to detect in the records. Clerical marriage and the associated practice of sons inheriting their fathers' benefices were not yet stamped out in the early thirteenth century; and while Gregorian reformers disapproved, priests who were sons of priests may have been among the better-qualified parish clergy by virtue of their upbringing.³

Under the provisions of the Third Lateran Council, men could not be ordained to the diaconate or priesthood without 'title', such as a vicarage, rectory, chaplaincy, or assistantship providing a means of support: otherwise the bishop would be obliged to support them.⁴ Innocent III extended this to subdeacons in 1198, which Archbishop Hubert Walter duly included in his Canterbury provincial statutes in 1200.⁵ In practice, many titles were either meaningless or

¹ Bishops' registers, e.g. *Rot. Grosseteste*, sometimes mention that an institution to a parish church occurred after the previous incumbent entered a religious order, but such incidental mention may under-report reality and certainly omits unbeneficed clergy.

² J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), 112; Vicaire, *Dominic*, 23.

³ E.g. Henry of Huntingdon and his family: Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), xxiii-xxx.

⁴ *DEC*, 214. Note also that, according to canon 3, those who hold offices requiring certain levels of ordination (e.g. a vicar must be a priest) must receive the appropriate ordination for their office, upon pain of deprivation: *DEC*, 212-13.

⁵ *C&S I*, 1064; Cheney, *Innocent III*, 82n.

unconnected to parish churches.¹ Nonetheless, many clerks, subdeacons and deacons (absentee rectors, scholars, and diocesan officials aside) were attached to churches in which they had ceremonial roles supporting a priest. As each worked his way up, he would assist in the parish liturgy in numerous ways, such as bearing candles and incense. A subdeacon was to read the Old Testament lesson and could explain it to the people; as a deacon, he would be responsible for reading or singing the Gospel at mass and was permitted to preach on it.² In the thirteenth century, liturgies required switching back and forth among several books or several parts of the same book; deacons may have been called upon to hold books and turn pages to free the priest's hands.³ Following the words as the priest read them would improve his pronouncing literacy and, if the text was noted and sung, his musical literacy as well. He would need some degree of comprehensional literacy in order to read the rubrics and find the appropriate pages and passages. The priest probably trained him for these tasks by improving his literacy. From the ranks of the assistant clergy, men were raised to vicarages, chaplaincies and rectories of their own, and few could have been as ignorant or incompetent as the clergy in the 1220 Salisbury visitation. Somewhere and somehow between first tonsure (preceding ordination as an acolyte) and becoming a parish priest, some competency had been acquired, and especially in rural areas distant from schools this must have been mostly through such apprenticeship.

There were many advantages to learning through assisting. It worked within existing structures of the Church, and did not require the cost, establishment and administration of academic institutions. Many Christian denominations still require assistantship, albeit as an adjunct to seminary education, testifying to the fundamental importance of hands-on learning. A junior cleric might also learn from

¹ S. Townley, 'Unbeneficed Clergy in the Thirteenth Century', in D.M. Smith, ed., *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England* (York, 1991), 38-64.

² 'Deus Est', 254.

³ On liturgical books, see I.5.

more than one priest. This cross-fertilisation circulated knowledge and wisdom socially and institutionally, and we might think of it as a source of a collective, if heterogeneous, *mentalité* among the secular clergy. From above, this could be guided and informed by *pastoralia*, whether diocesan statutes or independent handbooks. A cleric of reasonable literacy and learning could mediate the content of these works to others who could not have digested them for themselves or lacked copies. As ideas became accepted and embedded in the common knowledge of the clergy, and through them that of the laity, they became part of the underlying assumptions by which society operated, a Christianising of customs and habits. While this could be a slow process, it would have profound effects once people ‘received the new ideas embodied in social structures through a direct, often physical involvement in the process ... rather than through a particular effort of intellect or will.’¹ This applied to the spiritual and educational formation of clergy and laity alike.

Clerical apprenticeship was not a complete educational system. By itself, it could not provide the junior cleric with any more knowledge than the priest(s) he assisted. If the priest’s Latin vocabulary were small, there would not be a dictionary in the sacristy for remedy. In any case, the men appointed to vicarages or benefices often were not even deacons yet, as bishops’ registers testify, and thus had not had so much experience, especially at the altar. Several options remained for men whose learning was insufficient at this stage, though their availability was anything but uniform. One solution was to hire a private teacher: in several cases, Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln required clerics of insufficient learning to get teachers (*Debet habere magistrum*).² This might mean anything from visiting the cathedral school to paying a more literate cleric from a neighbouring parish to give remedial lessons: elsewhere Grosseteste recommended that non-Latinate priests should consult more literate

¹ Goering, ‘Popularization’, 143-44.

² *Rot. Grosseteste*, 198.

neighbouring priests.¹ In the dioceses of Worcester, Lincoln, Winchester, Wells, Carlisle, York and Exeter, parish churches within reasonable proximity of schools were obliged (if they could afford it) to support a junior clerk as holy-water bearer with duties only on Sundays and festivals, enabling him to pursue studies leading to parish ministry.² The vicar of Spalding (Lincs.) was obliged to support two such and was reprimanded by his bishop in 1282 for keeping only one.³ Parish clergy could also be granted licences to be absent from their benefices for a period of time to study, so long as they could provide a hired chaplain in their absence.⁴

Not every rector, vicar and chaplain had the resources of time, intellect or money to attend a school. There were three situations where he might have free access to teaching: cathedral schools, houses of friars, and the teaching at archidiaconal lectures. The first two were more accessible to those who lived near such an establishment, while the third would be compulsory.

Some cathedrals had *magistri* who taught considerably above the level of mere literacy.⁵ While the injunctions of Lateran III and IV that each cathedral or great church should support a master to offer free teaching were not uniformly observed in England, there were some cathedrals that did offer opportunities for learning to those who needed it.⁶ At the beginning of the thirteenth century, for instance, Lincoln Cathedral had William de Montibus and Salisbury Cathedral had Thomas of Chobham.⁷ The number of other great churches that supported such schools (such as Bury St. Edmunds and Northampton) grew to several dozen by the end of the century, though not all were free of charge. Lang opined that ‘the canon had little effect

¹ S. Gieben, ‘Robert Grosseteste on Preaching’, *Collectanea Franciscana* 37 (1967), 101-41, at 112.

² C&S II, 174, 309, 606, 713, 1026-27; *Reg. Sutton* III, 104-05.

³ British Library, Ms. Add. 35,296, f. 288r-v.

⁴ For instance, *Reg. Cantilupe*, 125; *Reg. Swinfield*, 545; *Reg. Quivil*, 375.

⁵ J. Barrow, ‘Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany, 1100-1225’, *Viator* 20 (1989), 117-38.

⁶ *DEC*, 220, 240.

⁷ J. Goering, *William de Montibus* (Toronto, 1992); F. Morenzoni, *Des Écoles aux Paroisses* (Paris, 1995).

because the bishops considered that there were already sufficient educational opportunities.¹ If this was true, then perhaps the bishops considered the problem to be not enough clerics taking advantage of existing opportunities. Cathedral schools likely ‘tended to concentrate on providing practical education for the clergy for the diocese ... it is possible that the curriculum would have included lectures on one of the popular manuals of theology and canon law such as ... Robert Grosseteste’s *Templum Domini* or the *Summula* of Bishop Peter Quinel.’² This probably would have reflected the theological priorities of the current diocesan and cathedral leadership.

It is unknown how often an aspiring parish priest was to be found sitting in on lectures at mendicant friaries. Not a scrap of direct evidence of it seems to exist from England, and in any case the theology lectures (which were the open ones) were given in Latin and probably over the heads of most parish clergy.³ Of greater consequence, parish clergy could attend the sermons of friars just as easily as the laity could, learning homiletic techniques in addition to content.

In the dioceses of Salisbury, Canterbury, Lincoln, Worcester, Durham, Chichester and York, the archdeacons or rural deans seem to have had a teaching role, especially in the first half of the century. At York, the statutes were to be expounded in every rural deanery in each ruridecanal chapter-meeting; at Salisbury, Durham and Canterbury, the archdeacons were to lecture at their annual chapters on the creedal statement of Lateran IV.⁴ In 1237, Cardinal Otto, acting as papal legate, ordered the archdeacons of both provinces to teach zealously (*studeant erudire*) the parish clergy about the sacraments in ruridecanal chapters.⁵ As all rectors, vicars, and chaplains were generally expected to attend these meetings, the lectures would have

¹ *Bishops and Reform*, 154-57.

² Goering, ‘Popularization’, 20-21 (quoted); Little, *Studies*, 170.

³ M. Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study* (Toronto, 1998), 50-51; B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000), 7n, 284, 327.

⁴ *C&S II*, 61, 496.

⁵ *C&S II*, 246-47.

been an excellent vehicle for broad dissemination of knowledge and instruction for clerical behaviour and pastoral care, though if they were given in unglossed Latin, those most in need of instruction would have been left behind. In the prologue of his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecon, wrote to his parish clergy that since he was absent he was setting down in writing for them important information about which they were wont to question him when he was present.¹ Even allowing for Gerald's high opinion of himself, this suggests that parish clergy at the end of the twelfth century could receive informal education as well from their overseers.

Once sufficient literacy was obtained, a growing literature was available to instruct parish clergy in the care of souls, what Leonard Boyle termed *pastoralia*. The most ubiquitous of these were 'synodal statutes' or 'diocesan constitutions', rules laid down by bishops for the running of their dioceses and (in theory) put into the hands of every rector, vicar and chaplain in the diocese. One set of parish visitation records from 1297, mostly from London diocese, showed four different pieces of diocesan and provincial legislation: thirteen of the twenty-two churches had at least two different items, indicating that, at least in the area of these churches, the information contained in local legislation was being disseminated.² These statutes distilled what the bishop thought to be the most salient points of canon law and theology and passed them on in a practical and fairly accessible form. As a considerable part of a parish priest's duties lay in the administration of the sacraments, instructions and theology regarding them was usually a bishop's foremost concern. The most difficult of sacraments was penance, more art than science, and some bishops took to appending tracts on the subject to their statutes. When Bishop Walter Cantilupe of Worcester did so in 1240, he added strong inducement. At archidiaconal chapters, parish clergy would be called upon without warning to read aloud his statutes and tract on

¹ Gerald, *Opera* II, 5-6.

² Simpson, *1297 Visitations*.

penance, and the archdeacon would explain any difficulties. If a cleric's literacy was insufficient, it would be found out at once. If he did not arrive with both a copy of the documents and a satisfactory knowledge of their contents, he was subject to a fine of one-half mark.¹ Getting their information into the hands and heads of the pastors was clearly important to many bishops, and their constitutions probably formed the meat of many archidiaconal lectures. These episcopal writings will be considered in depth in Part III under their appropriate dioceses and provinces.

A broad range of other *pastoralia* was composed and circulated. Some were short, simple tracts on such subjects as the mass. A step higher were longer treatments of aspects of pastoral care, such as Quinel's aforementioned tract on penance or some of Grosseteste's penitential handbooks. These required more than mere literacy on the part of the reader, suggesting that Grosseteste and Quinel believed there to be at least some parish clergy who could understand them. Other works were considerably more sophisticated. One was a *summa* on penance by Thomas of Chobham, subdean of Salisbury Cathedral and sometime student of Peter the Chanter at Paris. Running to 572 pages in the modern printed edition, this work examines hundreds of potential cases of moral theology in order to aid the priest in hearing the confessions of the laity.² A legal text on penance produced at the same time, Robert of Flamborough's *Liber Poenitentialis*, was shorter but in the same league.³ Very few parish priests could even afford copies of these works, much less digest them. This is the high end of the spectrum of works that aimed to benefit pastors directly, and these were probably of greater use to diocesan penitentiaries and archdeacons than to parish clergy.⁴ *Pastoralia* were being made increasingly available at all levels throughout the thirteenth century,

¹ C&S II, 321.

² Chobham, *Summa*.

³ Flamborough, *Liber*.

⁴ Treatises on penance are discussed in I.6 and II.6 below.

enabling any literate priest to advance his education further, to the limits of his motivation, opportunity and mental ability.

Perhaps the greatest teacher of all was simply experience. While experience may not have taught much in the way of doctrine, it must have taught most of what a parish cleric knew about hearing a confession, celebrating the sacraments, and putting together a sermon that would suit both the needs and the attention spans of his congregation. As mediaeval Catholicism was more about doing than knowing, the ability to give practical and spiritual direction on such topics as prayer, fasting, abstinence, sobriety, forgiveness, devotion and the choosing of the cardinal virtues over the deadly sins could only be truly understood by the regular practice of the same. While many books and tracts could give inspiration and wise guidance to the cleric – and some of these would be translated into the vernacular for lay use in the next two centuries – they could only be aids to practice. A mediaeval bishop seeking good candidates for parish ministry would probably have been more pleased to find a man who exemplified these qualities than a man whose Latin prose was fluent.

In development of holiness of life and character, the cleric was assisted by having to make his confession several times per year to one of the clergy appointed for that purpose.¹ As with the laity, this served both educative and formative functions. As specialists in hearing clerical confessions, the penitentiaries would have been men educated in the aspects of canon law and theology particularly applicable to hearing the confessions of the clergy, such as those that can be found in Robert of Flamborough's work mentioned above. In their necessary education, the penitentiaries would have learned of other developments in doctrine relevant to the sacrament of penance, passing these along to clerical penitents; thus the lessons of tomes too erudite or unwieldy for the use of parish clergy would be taught in this applied form, demonstrating how to hear the confessions of the laity.²

¹ E.g. C&S II, 75; R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana* (Toronto, 1989), 39-52.

² Goering, 'Popularization', 167-68.

As moral theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gave an increasingly important part to inward intentions, the cleric may have faced a progressive increase in questions of motive, not only calling for him to search his own conscience but also showing him how to search the consciences of others. When a cleric confessed to thoughts, words and deeds that elicited disciplinary action, he might have the bodily experience of blushing or some other reaction due to shame and reticence while confessing, and would undergo the bodily experience of undertaking the penance assigned; this discipline of obedience could, in theory, result in a psychosomatic aversion to repeating his error, the sum of which constituted character formation. The importance ascribed to the character formation of pastors by leading mediaeval churchmen can be seen in Bishop Richard Poore's admonition that the spiritual health of the laity is dependent upon *conversatione sacerdotum* (the words and deeds of priests) who can lead people into sin just as well as out of it.¹

Any man being ordained for parish ministry should have been examined, usually by the bishop, an archdeacon, or some other official, at each step of the road.² The many steps – first tonsure, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest, at the receipt of a benefice, and perhaps during a visitation of the parish or an archidiaconal chapter – narrowed the gaps through which unsuitable candidates could slip. Both Gerald of Wales, around 1218, and a diocesan statute of ca. 1222 x 1225 noted that men rejected by English bishops sometimes sought orders from Irish, Scottish and Welsh bishops who often ordained without sufficient examination: this suggests that examination was fairly universal in England.³ Full examination covered legitimate birth (or dispensation for illegitimacy), sufficient age and maturity, good moral character, and education.⁴

¹ C&S II, 62-63.

² C&S II, 246-47.

³ Gerald, *Opera* III, 368; R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* (Oxford, 1982), 219; C&S II, 147.

⁴ C&S II, 147; Dohar, 'Sufficienter litteratus'; L. Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England', reprinted in *idem*, *Pastoral Care*, item IX.

Very few archidiaconal records survive from the thirteenth century, and the duty of sifting out unsuitable candidates before institution was delegated to them in many dioceses.¹ Examination at institution is reflected in some episcopal registers. John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, was deeply concerned for pastoral care; his register indicates examination at ordination, but not at institution, though both were probably made.² Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln's register mentions examination at institution but only when a deficiency of learning was noted, suggesting that most entries reflect satisfactory candidates. Sometimes a 're-sit' of the examination was permitted, as for two men instituted by Grosseteste each with the proviso 'let him come at the feast of St Michael [29 September, a common date for archidiaconal chapters] to be thoroughly examined regarding the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, and the Seven Sins with circumstances'.³ This was exceptional, but the occasional recalling of candidates for further examination, by the study it motivated, possibly transformed some of the less-qualified candidates into some of the better-qualified candidates. In the few cases in which Grosseteste mandated repeated annual examination with threat of deprivation, one senses that the cleric's real failing was not ignorance but sloth, and this was the weak link in the whole system. Only strong diocesan administration aimed at improving pastoral care could effectively raise standards: this was perhaps the individual bishop's most influential role in the care of souls, and we can only come to a clearer view of the abilities of the English parish clergy by studying the succession of bishops in each diocese, as we will in Part III.

¹ *C&S* II, 313, 429-30, 487, 608-09, 1017-18.

² *Reg. Pecham* I, 184.

³ 'Veniet ad festum Sancti Michaelis, plenius examinandus super x prec', vii sacramentis, vii cri' cum circumstanciis.' *Rot. Grosseteste*, 416-17.

I.4: Preaching and Religious Instruction in the Parish

In 1945, Moorman wrote of thirteenth-century parish preaching that ‘a sermon was a rare event’ and argued that the art of preaching only really arrived in England with the friars, towards whom Moorman showed a strong affection and bias.¹ This view was challenged four years later by Robertson, who used diocesan statutes to demonstrate at least ‘that there is no particular reason for saying that they were not delivered.’² More recently, d’Avray has argued that, since the extant sermon material of the friars assumes prior knowledge on the part of the audience, there must have been basic catechetical instruction that did not leave direct evidence.³ The parish clergy must have been the source of much of this catechesis. There were three formal venues for instruction: during childhood, during or after mass on Sundays or feast days, and in the hearing of a confession. The last will be discussed in I.6 below.

A statute issued in the dioceses of Salisbury, Canterbury and Durham between 1217 and 1237 directed parish clergy to gather children frequently to teach them the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the *Ave Maria*.⁴ Informally, the parish priest would seem the most natural person to ask questions regarding not only doctrine *per se* but also other matters that a person of above-average education might know; and given the natural inquisitiveness of children in particular, even the priest who neglected to provide venues for religious education might find them created nonetheless by young parishioners. It is likely that this statute, like so many others, was intended to direct and reinforce an existing trend; if so, the trend can be assumed to have been found across England rather than just in these dioceses.

¹ Moorman, *Church Life*, 77.

² D.W. Robertson, jr., ‘Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England’, *Speculum* 24 (1949), 376-88.

³ D. d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), 82-90.

⁴ C&S II, 5.

The natural time for preaching would have been during or after mass on Sundays and feast-days.¹ This was when the greatest number of parishioners was gathered under one roof and when their minds were more likely than at other times to be attuned to spiritual matters. On saints' days and other feasts, the reason for the observance would seem the most likely fodder for preaching, while the Gospel reading for the day would have been the most common subject on ordinary Sundays.² Diocesan statutes required other items of catechesis to be taught, and ordinary Sundays were probably the time for preaching on these as well: for instance, from early in the century, parents were to be informed about how to baptise in an emergency and warned not to overlie their infants during the night; the faithful were to be taught the certainty of transubstantiation; basic sexual ethics were to be proclaimed; the laity were to be taught basic creedal material; the minimum annual attendance at confession and reception of the Eucharist were to be enjoined; and many other such directions were to be given on how Catholic laity ought to behave, 'and we direct that this shall be frequently promoted to the laity' (*et hoc laicis precipimus frequenter inculcar*).³ Later in the century, the Province of Canterbury received a more comprehensive catechism in the guise of archbishop Pecham's canon *De informatione simplicium sacerdotum*. This required expounding of the articles of the creeds, the Ten Commandments, the two precepts of the Gospel, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Cardinal Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments.⁴

It is not surprising that two constants across the century are creedal and sacramental material. The creeds, including here not only the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds but also the statement of faith from the Fourth Lateran Council, proclaim articles of faith not empirically

¹ G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 144-48.

² S. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching', *Collectanea Franciscana* 37 (1967), 101-41, at 111-12.

³ I have selected these, more or less at random, from Richard Poore's Salisbury/Durham statutes. *C&S* II, 57-96.

⁴ *C&S* II, 900-905.

obvious, which therefore have needed constant repetition and affirmation throughout Christian history. In the case of the Fourth Lateran Council's profession of faith, there was material that was comparatively new, especially a confirmation of Transubstantiation.¹ Sacramental theology, not limited to the Eucharist, had risen to the forefront of learned discussion, argument and analysis in the eleventh and especially the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and one of the reformers' most important tasks in educating clergy and laity alike was to disseminate this information, at least in a digestible form. It was also a highly practical matter in pastoral care, being the tangent where the laity encountered the grace of which the Church claimed exclusive authority of distribution. If we cast our eyes yet again on Pecham's definition of the *cura animarum*, we see the centrality of the sacraments, augmented by preaching: preaching regarding the sacraments, making them comprehensible and exhorting people to participate in them, was a deeply integral part of pastoral care, at least by that *schema*. The sacraments included marriage, and thus legitimacy of birth and ability to inherit; penance, used in part to redress grievances and reconcile communities; and the Eucharist, exclusion from which (excommunication) excluded one from all Christian society: this begins to show how extensively the sacraments ordered society and concomitantly how important it was that they were understood.

Given their importance, the time of the administration of public sacraments – mass, baptism, matrimony, public penance,² and perhaps confirmation – would have been the most ideal times for preaching, as they remain. All but the first were probably infrequent enough for sermons to have been directly related to these sacraments themselves. Mass remained 'an occasion for preaching in a highly

¹ *DEC*, 230.

² That is, at the ceremonial expulsion of public penitents from the cathedral on Ash Wednesday, and at their ceremonial re-entrance on Maundy Thursday: see M.C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*. If there was a sermon beyond the liturgical proclamations, it was almost certainly delivered by the bishop, or by another at his direction.

charged setting', and many parish clergy probably took advantage of this fact.¹ Lectionary readings, seasons and saints' days were the likely subjects of preaching. The preacher who did not consider himself up to the task of biblical exegesis – and many probably did not, and were not – might still manage to relate in the vernacular what the Gospel reading had said in Latin, provided that he himself could understand, or could find a neighbouring priest to explain it to him.²

However, catechetical preaching was only part of the picture: it is incredible that the devotional practices of the Middle Ages should have spread so broadly or run so deep were it not for devotional preaching. Archbishop Langton instructed parish clergy to 'admonish their parishioners that in church they are free to pray, but not to make noise or idle chatter.'³ The laity seem to have used the mass, or the office services if they attended them, as a framework for individual devotions when not chattering,⁴ and the devotions are usually classified as 'intellective' and 'affective'. The first, broadly, was prayers involving words, either in the vernacular or in Latin. This involved some degree of cognitive function, even if was only enough for the constant repetition of the *Pateroster* or the invocation of the prayers of every saint the worshipper could remember. The second was concerned more with emotion than with understanding, and could be played out in contemplation and adoration, a nonverbal outpouring of love, gratitude, admiration, desire, even anger and frustration. While such may seem to be the realm of the mystic, there is no reason to discount the importance of affective devotion in the religious lives of 'ordinary' men and women in a religious environment that apparently valued experience above understanding, love above knowledge, and symbols above words.⁵ Both types of devotion could be directed

¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 95.

² Gieben, 'Grosseteste on Preaching', 111-12.

³ C&S II, 31.

⁴ J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), 40.

⁵ F. Vandenbroucke, 'Lay Spirituality in the Twelfth Century', in J. Leclercq, F. Vandenbroucke, and L. Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), 243-82; P.R. Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England* (New York, 2003), 202.

toward saints as well as toward God, and both could be fostered by the preaching of the parish priest and the silent witness of the artwork adorning many churches.¹

Finally, we must consider moral preaching, and while we have left it till last here, medieval authors did not. Peter the Chanter was insistent that good works should precede doctrine and that preaching should reflect this priority and sequence.² His fellow Parisian Alain de Lille defined preaching as ‘open and public instruction in morals and faith, serving to form men’:³ morals first, faith second, all aimed towards shaping character. Moral instruction could come verbally, and English episcopal statutes are full of directions to exhort the laity to moral living; but it could also be given by the priest’s own behaviour. This idea dates at least to the time of Gregory the Great, and we find it in English statutes as well.⁴ In this way even a priest of quite modest literacy could ‘preach’ a very eloquent sermon by living a celibate, sober and peaceable life, though the reception of such incarnate instruction would depend upon how highly the laity around him already valued such virtues. It was in confession that the priest had the most fertile opportunity to shape concepts of virtue and vice; but discussion of this belongs below in chapter 6 of this section.

¹ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT, 1992), 30, 122-23; Vandenbroucke, ‘Lay Spirituality’, 347-48.

² *Verbum Adbreviatum*, 34-35.

³ ‘Praedicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte proveniens.’ PL CCXX, 111.

⁴ PL LXXIX, 100, 153, 154, 158; *C&S* II, 710.

I.5: Sacramental and Liturgical Pastoral Care

There can be little doubt that mediaeval parishioners would agree that ‘The mass was the central ceremony of the Church’.¹ The *Lay Folk’s Mass Book*, in its late-thirteenth-century English version (and probably in the lost twelfth-century Norman French original) proclaimed, ‘Po worthyest þing, most of godnesse, / In al þis world, [hit] is þo messe.’² It was not the only liturgical or sacramental service of the parish church, but it was the one most frequently attended by laypeople. The sacraments (even excluding confession, the subject of the next chapter) are such a vast subject in terms of liturgy, legislation, theology and popular belief that it is not possible to treat them all here.³ Geographically distinctive aspects of some of the other liturgies and sacraments will be discussed in Part III below. Here, therefore, I will consider only the parish mass.

Duffy argues that, for the late-mediaeval English laity, the mass was the main locus of ‘encountering the Holy’⁴: the divine presence was manifested to them in a manner that was visible, and, about once a year, tangible and ingestible. Recent work on both documentary and architectural evidence has tended to show that the new, higher Eucharistic theology of the schools was already affecting English parishioners’ experience of the mass in the twelfth century; this developed steadily through the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁵ The speed with which the feast of Corpus Christi spread in England after it arrived in the early fourteenth century cannot have been *ex nihilo*. This was the enthusiastic reception of an outlet for a

¹ R.N. Swanson, *Catholic England* (Manchester, 1993), 78.

² *LFMB*, 2. All citations are to text B.

³ For our context and period, see especially Goering, ‘Popularization’, 99-103, and R.J. Mokry, ‘An Edition and Study of Henry Wodestone’s *Summa de Sacramentis*’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1997), *passim*.

⁴ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), 91.

⁵ C.F. Davidson [Cragoe], ‘Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125-c.1250’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998), esp. 130-84; J. Goering, ‘The Invention of Transubstantiation’, *Traditio* 46 (1991), 147-70; G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist* (Oxford, 1984), esp. 86-105; *C&S* II, 33; V.L. Kennedy, ‘The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host’, *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), 121-50; P. Binski, *Becket’s Crown* (New Haven, 2004), 153-55.

strong, long-established devotion to the consecrated host, implying widespread popular belief in the doctrine of the real presence in the thirteenth century. As Goering has argued,

The 12th and 13th century developments of eucharistic devotion seem to have originated largely in popular piety. This popular interest in the eucharist was taken up by the theologians of the period, discussed in the schools and academic milieux, and eventually channelled back to the people in authoritative, ecclesiastically sanctioned forms.¹

This channelling back can be seen in English episcopal statutes.

Richard Poore, bishop successively of Salisbury and Durham, enjoined strongly upon his priests that

You ought to instruct the laity as often as they communicate² that in no way are they to doubt the truth of the body and blood of Christ. For without a doubt they receive under the species of bread what for us hung upon the cross; they receive from the chalice what flowed from the side of Christ.³

Admittedly, this may reflect some uncertainty among the laity; the metaphysical distinction of the theologians between ‘substance’ (fundamental reality) and ‘property’ or ‘accident’ (apparent reality) may have been lost on many thirteenth-century laity. Nonetheless, belief in the real presence in the Eucharist was clearly very strong, and the church hierarchy did all it could to nurture it. Bishop Peter Quinel of Exeter wrote in 1287,

Since truly through these words: ‘This is my body,’ and not through any other words, the bread is transubstantiated into the body, let the priest not raise the host before he has said this completely, lest the created thing be venerated in place of the Creator by the people.⁴ For the host is to be raised so high that it may be gazed upon by faithful bystanders; through this, moreover, the devotion of the faithful is excited and the merit of faith receives increase. Let parishioners be diligently exhorted that, at the elevation of the body of Christ, they should not only

¹ Goering, ‘Popularization’, 145.

² It is not clear whether he meant the physical reception of communion alone, typically at Easter, or also the ‘spiritual reception’ of seeing the host, for which the same words (*perceptio* and *receptio*) were regularly used.

³ ‘Insuper debetis instruere laicos quotiens communicant quod de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi nullo modo dubitent. Nam hoc accipiunt proculdubio sub panis specie quod pro nobis pependit in cruce, hoc accipiunt in calice quod effusum est de Christi latere’. C&S II, 77-78.

⁴ Cf. Romans 1:25.

reverently bow but also bend the knee and adore their Creator with all devotion and reverence; to which, let them be excited at first through the ringing of the bell, and at the elevation let the greater bell be struck thrice.¹

Here it is assumed that bowing takes place at the time of the elevation and it is acknowledged that this existing tendency can and should be cultivated by the clergy in their parishes both through teaching and exhortation, through a stronger physical manifestation of devotion, and through an auditory addition to the spectacle, the ringing of bells.

Indeed, spectacle was an important part of the mass. This is not to reduce the holiest rite of the Catholic Church to a bit of play-acting. Spectacle signified and reinforced to the observer-participant the holiness of what the Church taught was occurring in the sacrament: transubstantiation. By bringing Christ bodily close, the Church acting through the priest enabled the congregated parishioners to see Christ, to the strengthening of their faith – part of the concept of *viaticum* – and to pray to Christ in an immediate way, physically present to hear their intercessions, petitions and complaints.²

The meaning and pastoral effect of the mass can best be appreciated by describing its proceedings. We will focus on the Use of Salisbury, which rose to predominance in the thirteenth century.³ As it was designed for use in a great cathedral church but used in countless parish churches, where resources were less and the liturgy commensurately simplified,⁴ some suggestions of that simplification will be given in what follows.

¹ 'Quia vero per hec verba: Hoc est corpus meum, et non per alia, panis transubstantiatur in corpis, prius hostiam non levet sacerdos donec ipsa plene protulerit, ne pro creatore creatura a populo veneretur. Hostia autem ita levetur in altum ut a fidelibus circumstantibus valeat intueri. Per hoc etenim fidelium devotio excitatur et fidei meritum suscipit incrementum. Parochiani solícite exhortentur ut in levatione corporis Christi nedum reverenter se inclinent sed genua flectant et creatorem suum adorent omni devotione et reverentia; ad quod per campanelle pulsationem primitus excitentur, et in levatione ter tangatur campana maior.' *C&S* II, 990. *LFMB*, 38, also assumes the sacring bell is commonplace.

² *LFMB*, 38.

³ Only the Uses of York and Hereford proved tenacious. N. Morgan, 'The Introduction of the Sarum Calendar into the Dioceses of England in the Thirteenth Century', in *Thirteenth Century England VIII: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 1999*, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2001), 179-206. A comparison with the Use of York ca. 1425 may be made by reference to *LFMB*, 90-117.

⁴ R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion, c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), 92.

A. The Procedure of the Mass

The Sarum Missal¹ begins with blessings of salt and water and the aspersion of the altar, clergy and (where there was one) choir.² This ritual was followed on Sundays and feast-days by a procession, which in a parish church presumably went from the chancel/apse to the nave and back.³ However, as all of this preceded vesting for mass with its attendant rituals, it may have been done already vested for mass.⁴

After the celebrant and attendants re-entered the chancel, the celebrant confessed to another priest if one was present, and to the whole congregation. The Use of Salisbury was originally intended for use *in choro*, and this exchange was to be between the celebrant and the (clerical) choir; but the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* directed the reader to confess back to the priest, as he sees other lay congregants do, 'in loude or stille' (aloud or silently).⁵ After responsorial prayers and the blessing and lighting of the incense, the *Kyrie* and *Gloria in excelsis* followed, the latter omitted in Advent and Lent. Several collects were then sung, followed by the Epistle reading. In theory, the subdeacon would intone the reading, but in practice, it might have been said if the Epistolarium (the book with the Epistle readings) were not musically punctuated, or if the person doing the reading could not sing; and another cleric may have done the task if there were no

¹ I have chosen to use the edition of J.W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916), reservedly complemented by N. Sandon, ed., *The Use of Salisbury: The Ordinary of the Mass* (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1984). Legg's edition is based on the Crawford Missal, which dates from ca. 1260 and appears to have been for parish church use. It is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. King supposed that the liturgical antiquarian Edmund Bishop was 'probably correct' in ascribing the Crawford Missal's rubric to a revision of Sarum Rite carried out by Edmund of Abingdon, treasurer of Salisbury and later archbishop of Canterbury: A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (New York, 1959), 307. Sandon's edition is laid out for actual use and shows more clearly the sequence of events, and it has been used in this respect only. I have not used F.C. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum Insignis et Praeclare Ecclesiae Sarum* (Burntisland, Fife, 1861-1883) because it is unclear when its rubrics date from. A.J. Collins based his edition of *Manuale ad usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (London, 1960), which includes the ordinary of the mass, on sixteenth-century printings, which may not reflect thirteenth-century practice.

² Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 10-12; Sandon, *Use of Salisbury*, 1-3.

³ E.g. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 13.

⁴ Sandon, *The Use of Salisbury*, 1-11; *LFMB*, lxii, 6.

⁵ *LFMB*, 6; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 216; Sandon, *Use of Salisbury*, 12.

subdeacon or if he were insufficiently literate. During the reading, the vested chalice was brought in by the acolyte and set on the altar, though again this may have been done ahead of time, especially if there were not enough clergy or assistants to do such tasks during the service. After the Epistle, the Gradual, Alleluia, and Sequence were sung (or said) from the altar steps, these texts being contained in the *Graduale* and *Troparium* (or Troper). All of this may be considered standard.¹ However, the thirteenth-century Crawford Missal skips directly from the lighting of incense to the Gospel, not only shortening and simplifying the liturgy but also rendering several liturgical books unnecessary.² The *Lay Folk's Mass Book* made no mention of what the priest might do, only that the congregant should say the *Paternoster* between the Gloria and the Gospel: if the Epistle were eliminated, its primary effect would be time for fewer repetitions.³

The Gospel was then read or sung.⁴ The Nicene Creed followed in the *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, although it is omitted from the Ordinary of the Mass in the Crawford Missal, and at least in some places, the laity might have joined in, as bishops told their priests to ensure that people knew or understood the text.⁵ If the church owned an Offertory book, that text would follow; at this point the chalice and paten were placed on the altar.⁶ After washing his hands, the priest asked the congregation for their prayers, and the Crawford Missal expects that they could respond with an appropriate Latin sentence.⁷

¹ For a very early example, M. Rule, ed., *The Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1896), 5-41; Sandon, *Use of Salisbury*, 12-21, based on late-mediaeval exemplars, includes it as well.

² Compare Sandon, *Use of Salisbury*, 13-21, with the rubric in Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 218: '*Diaconus ... procedit ad legendum evangelium*'.

³ *LFMB*, 16.

⁴ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 218.

⁵ *C&S II*, 304, 423, 516-17, 609-10. The emphasis seems to be on understanding the faith, which may or may not have entailed ability to recite in Latin the creeds discussed in these statutes (Nicene, Apostles' and Athanasian). However, Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 237-38, argues that lay ability to recite the Nicene Creed and *Paternoster* in Latin was widespread before 1200. *LFMB*, 20-22 assumes the ability to recite the Nicene Creed in Latin and gives a verse translation for reciting in English.

⁶ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 218.

⁷ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 218-19: rubrics '*Responsio populi*'.

The canon of the mass followed the prayers of the proper preface,¹ and contained both spoken and silent prayers by the priest. The canon itself is a prayer to God the Father: the text of the *Sanctus*, for instance, begins with the vision of God the Father in Isaiah 6. The *Lay Folk's Mass Book* prescribed lay prayers during this time coordinated with, but not directly reflecting, the priest's prayers.² After the two consecrations, petitions flowed, as it were, through God the Son in the host, but still to God the Father. Priestly prayers were offered for the dead, followed by the living, that they may join with the apostles and martyrs (several are listed by name) and all the saints in heaven. Thereafter the consecration was completed, but the host had not yet been consumed.³ During this time the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* counselled, 'sondry men prayes sere, / Ilk mon on his best manere' – let each pray as he knows how.⁴ The statutes of Chichester diocese (1292) mention spoken prayers and other devotions (*orationibus et aliis devotionibus*) during the mass, indicating that not all lay devotions were verbal.⁵ Prayers continued with the *Paternoster*, the last line of which was spoken by the congregation in Latin as a response; the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* considered that only 'lewed men' did not know this.⁶ The priest prayed for deliverance from all evils, present and future, and for peace.⁷ The priest then broke the host in quarters.⁸ The Peace was spoken back and forth between the priest and the congregation, and, the ceremony of sacrifice complete, the *Agnus Dei* followed, tying the actions of the mass to the sacrifice of the Passover lamb.⁹ Another expression of peace followed: the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* recorded that the priest would kiss a paxboard, but does

¹ Changing with season, festival, or 'intent' of the mass. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 211-15.

² *LFMB*, 26-38.

³ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 221-24.

⁴ *LFMB*, 38.

⁵ *C&S II*, 1117.

⁶ *LFMB*, 46.

⁷ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 224-25.

⁸ The theological meanings of these fractions, which revolved around prayer for the living and the dead (especially friends and household members) are discussed in J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present* 100 (1983), 29-61.

⁹ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 225. The responsorial Peace is not in *LFMB*.

not suggest that he passed it on, as would later be customary; the Crawford Missal ambiguously reads *Hic detur pax*, here the peace is given.¹ The precise nature of the gesture is unclear and probably varied.

It would be logical for the presence of God to be heralded and surrounded by pomp and ceremony, with the best that parishioners could offer. The ceremony and ceremonial trappings, by co-operation among the Church, the priest, and the congregation, were to point those present to a reality that might otherwise be missed: in the canon of the mass, the story of the Last Supper, which at least some in the congregation probably knew (at least the priest, one would hope), narrated the historical evidence for the claim of transubstantiation,² bells heralded the event,³ extra candles were lit to add visibility and significance,⁴ and in response the priest and other assembled worshippers gazed, knelt, prayed, worshipped, adored.⁵ The presence of spectacle in the mass undergirded the claim that the holy was being made manifest.⁶

After the peace, the celebrant consumed the elements on behalf of the whole congregation, followed by careful ablutions.⁷ There were several minutes of prayer in between the elevations and the consumption, giving the parishioners time to pray in devotion to the host or to use the host as a locus of God's presence to make their prayers and intercessions heard in a close and immediate way.⁸ The service being over, the deacon (or another) announced, *Ite, Missa est*: 'Go forth, it is finished'.⁹ The congregation afterward consumed non-Eucharistic blessed bread, broken and shared among them.¹⁰

¹ *LFMB*, 48; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 227. For later mediaeval practice, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, in index s.v. 'pax'.

² *C&S II*, 78-79.

³ *C&S II*, 210-11, 299, 593, 894, 990, 1006.

⁴ *C&S II*, 592-93; *Reg. Ant.* III, 721.

⁵ *C&S II*, 33, 79, 143, etc.

⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 55-64.

⁷ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 226-28.

⁸ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 155.

⁹ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 229.

¹⁰ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 455.

These, of course, were theoretical directions. The actualities varied considerably from parish to parish, as the thirteenth-century Crawford missal shows, as well as regionally by diocesan uses. A small eleventh- or twelfth-century church or chapel, with a tiny round apse and a rectangular, aisleless nave, would have provided little or no room for moving about, so the whole service would have been led from before or behind the altar and there could have been room for few liturgical assistants.¹ In a larger parish church with more clergy, such as an old minster, the possibilities for imitating cathedral worship were much greater.

B. Communion and Community²

The mass was held to reconcile Christians to one another as well as to God, as theologians have argued, if in different ways, throughout Christian history.³ The thirteenth century, while it saw many developments in Eucharistic theology, was no exception, and it is noteworthy that the expression of peace was passed in the mass between the moments of consecration and the consumption of the elements. People were encouraged to pray during the mass – especially between the consecration and fraction or consumption – for friends and kin, both living and dead.⁴ Thus at the highest devotional point of the whole event, when the congregants were focusing on the consecrated host, their minds were also directed towards the Body of Christ in its other sense, that of fellow believers, praying especially for the welfare of those closest to them. Particularly in a rural parish, many of those being held up in prayer would likely be in the same parish, even if they were not themselves present at the mass, or even if their bodily proximity consisted of being buried in the churchyard

¹ The Crawford Missal makes no mention of a subdeacon or others, only the deacon and the celebrant. On some related questions of church architecture and liturgy, see P.S. Barnwell, 'The Laity, the Clergy and the Divine Presence: The Use of Space in Smaller Churches of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157 (2004), 41-60.

² The issue of 'community' will be discussed further I.7 below.

³ Macy, *Theologies*, 118-32.

⁴ Bossy, 'Mass as a Social Institution', esp. 38-47; *LFMB*, 48-54.

just outside. This aspect of the communality of the mass could, in theory, have translated well into private or sparsely-attended masses as well. Grosseteste recommended that laypeople should attend the Eucharistic communion each day – physically if possible, or at least mentally¹ – perhaps being reminded by hearing churchbells.² Even those who did not frequent the church would occasionally see the consecrated host being borne to visit the sick, attended by a candle and bell, and everyone the procession passed was expected to kneel and show due reverence.³

Another element of communality that transcended the question of parochial attendance is the oral reception of the consecrated elements by the priest only on behalf of the whole community. Just as only the mouth receives on behalf of the whole body, so priestly reception for the sanctification and strengthening of all the members of the parish would appear to have been comprehensible only by virtue of the incorporation of said members.⁴ The association of incorporation into the Body of Christ is Pauline in origin,⁵ and was a common theme for mediaeval discussion of the mass.

Moving from theological to sociological considerations, one finds considerable variety in modern scholars' thoughts on the experience of the mass for mediaeval Christians.⁶ Bossy, for instance, seems to be of two minds on the matter: he has argued, 'If we take the late medieval mass on its own terms, not as a service of instruction or a liturgical fossil but as a contemporary and evolving social ritual, we may agree that it involved a good deal of participation',⁷ but elsewhere he has

¹ *Templum*, 44.

² *C&S* II, 894.

³ See *C&S* II, 1446, under 'Visitation of sick'.

⁴ C.J. Fraser, *The Religious Instruction of the Laity in Late Medieval England* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1995), 186-87.

⁵ I Cor. 6:15, 10:16-17, 11:23-29, 12:12-27.

⁶ There is some justification for this in that actual experience varied widely, as did the observers of that experience, and so 'No single eucharist is to be sought, and no single category such as class or gender can adequately capture the variety of eucharistic meaning.' Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 288.

⁷ Bossy, 'Mass as a Social Institution', 36. While Bossy may be referring here to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – it is not clear – his general point is not thereby invalidated for the thirteenth century. See also H.M. Carey, 'Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England', *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1987), 361-81, at 364.

described the mass in the later Middle Ages as ‘a relatively non-participatory rite.’¹ But the level of interaction between priest and people is not the only valid measure of the communal nature or participatory level of a religious service. Interior devotion may be construed as passive participation, and exterior devotion as active; these can hardly be dismissed as participation. Bossy’s apparent discrepancy might be solved by defining the ‘rite’ as what the clergy did and describing the participatory elements of the laity, such as their devotions, as the ‘social ritual’ happening concurrently in the nave. Thirteenth-century English laity doubtless made some distinction between the priest’s action and theirs, but to define the latter as merely ‘social ritual’ is to build an anthropological barrier that inhibits sympathetic comprehension. Summerson’s assessment that ‘the laity were encouraged to attend [liturgies] so that they could associate themselves with that worship, not so that they should be instructed or otherwise involved’² skirts the edge of this precipice by turning the question towards precisely how those laypeople so associated themselves and what mutual association meant to them.

Spectacle can affect the relationships among co-spectators. Durkheim observed that ‘as people come together and focus their attention on a common object, thoughts and feelings passing back and forth among them become strengthened until they take on a supraindividual force and seem to be detached from the individuals themselves.’³ Applied to the mass in the mediaeval church, this would mean that as people assemble – into the confines, often very close, of a parish church – focus their attention on a common object – perhaps the rood or other representations, but especially the consecrated host, illuminated with candles or by a window deliberately positioned to spotlight it⁴ – and engage in contagious emotional outpourings – such

¹ J. Bossy, ‘Christian Life in the Later Middle Ages: Prayers’, *TRHS* 6th s. 1, 1991, 137-48, at 148.

² H. Summerson and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria* (Kendal, 2000), 21

³ M. Makowsky and R. Collins, *The Discovery of Society* (6th edn., Boston, 1998), 105; and within the context of Christian ritual specifically, see T. Sample, *The Spectacle of Worship* (Nashville, 1998), 84-85.

⁴ Davidson [Cragoe], ‘Written in Stone’, 149-51.

as affective devotion and spoken prayers – a certain communal identity may be imparted to those assembled.

As Rubin has noted, 'It is through the symbolic that our own lives come to have meaning to ourselves, and the lives of those, present or past, with whom we interact, become comprehensible.'¹ The shared experience of the spectacle of the mass both invested the community with meaning and revealed that meaning to the congregants. The repetition of this experience as part of the rhythm of people's lives would have impressed it deeply into the collective consciousness of that portion of the parish community that attended mass regularly, building up over successive decades of experience, informed by the sort of preaching and instruction envisaged in English episcopal statutes. Atkins has identified four ways in which corporate ritual creates enduring neural pathways of memory:

Through natural sharing, observation and modelling ... Through formal teaching ... Through the sharing of rituals that are associated with the life of the group ... Through hearing and repeating the corporate "songs and sayings" of the various communities ... [In sum,] by participation rather than by formal instruction.²

All of these seem to have been characteristic of thirteenth-century liturgical pastoral care: kneeling or standing when others did, hearing sermons, attending not only the mass but also weddings, funerals and baptisms, and repeating the *Paternoster* and other prayers.

Mediaeval society was hierarchical, including at the communal level, so we must not imagine that any sense of *fraternité* meant *égalité*. The hierarchy was proclaimed and strengthened in the mass as well. The lay patron of a parish church, often the lord of the manor, was allowed a special seat closer to the altar.³ The rising Eucharistic theology of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries coincided with rising Gregorian ideals of the priesthood and its separation from the lay estate: Macy argues that nowhere was this more clearly proclaimed

¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 6.

² P. Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 2004), 69-70.

³ *C&S* II, 275, 297, 433, 1007-8.

than in the mass, by the power of which 'a new society was slowly being invented ... with two clearly separated realms', clerical and lay.¹

If 'the celebration was more than just an occasion or object for personal devotion; it was also a focus for community in communion',² and if that communion repeatedly reinforced the community and what we should now call its values, then Rubin is mistaken to argue that '*communitas* is dissolved as soon as the sweat evaporates off the brow of the ritual performer.'³ If regular attendance at these rituals somehow failed to leave a lasting impression on individuals and the congregations composed of them in the thirteenth century, only to emerge fully-grown as a focus of community and hierarchy in the fourteenth, it would be truly astounding.

C. Sacrifice

The mediaeval Church taught that the mass offered not only sacrament and spectacle but also sacrifice. Here we do well to separate pastoral provision and pastoral reception, the distinction between the official Church's intended supplying of pastoral care and what the laity thought or knew of it. In the case of the former, the Church offered daily prayers for the faithful, which must be considered pastoral care being supplied in behalf of the laity, even if the laity did not attend these prayers.

When we turn to pastoral reception of sacrifice in the awareness of the laity, Bossy suggests four different anthropological interpretations of the social implications of sacrifice; the three of these that can be applied to the mediaeval mass agree that sacrifice binds people together. Probably the most applicable is that of René Girard, according to whom sacrifice is

a judicial act. It represents the separation between men in so far as sacrificial murder symbolizes the mutual murder which is the extreme expression of conflicts subsisting within a population; it binds them together in so far as ritual murder

¹ G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom* (Collegeville, MN, 1999), 182.

² R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 138.

³ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 2.

takes the place of actual murder and hence enables the population to live in peace.¹

For the mediaeval Christian, with belief in the real presence and therefore a truly sacrificial event becoming more deeply imbedded, attendance at and mutual (if interior) participation in that sacrificial event itself – not just a reminder, but a genuine remembrance and re-enactment – could become highly emotionally and spiritually charged: only this can account for the intensity of Eucharistic devotion, individual and corporate, that was to characterise the later Middle Ages. We find strong traces in the thirteenth century as well, such as Matthew Paris's account of St. Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury:

At the altar he was greatly given to tears, and conducted himself in the service of the altar as if he discerned the Lord's passion being visibly enacted in the flesh. In fact he celebrated the divine sacraments with such great reverence that his ministration itself enhanced the faith and influenced the conduct of those who witnessed it.²

Yet we would do well not to romanticise ritualized experience too far. Because of higher child-mortality rates, the proportion of youths and adults would be lower than it is today relative to that of young children, whose propensity for distracting churchgoers is notorious. Other distractions surely abounded. Until recently, an important function of incense was to mask the odour of gathered, unwashed humanity, which would be more intense in small or overcrowded churches. The ringing of bells at the elevation of the host is thought of as catching people's attention from their individual prayers and devotions, but could just as well have recalled the congregants from gossip and bored trances: Archbishop Langton wrote ca. 1213, 'Let all priests admonish their parishioners that in church they are free to pray, but not to make noise or idle chattering', and Bishop Walter Cantelupe of Worcester wrote in a 1240 statute, 'when the Body of the

¹ This is Bossy's characterisation of the argument: 'Mass as a Social Institution', 50-51, citing R. Girard, *La Violence et le Sacré* (Paris, 1980 edn.). This argument could indeed be made entirely from Biblical references and fits comfortably with Christian theology, arguably of any age.

² C.H. Lawrence, ed. and trans., *The Life of Saint Edmund by Matthew Paris* (London, 1999), 127.

Lord is lifted on high by the hands of the priest in the celebration of the mass, let a little bell be rung, so that thereby the devotion of the lazy may be excited.’¹ While music ‘provided an element of spiritual solemnity, a background of devotional sublimity which contributed to the dramatizing of the Christian mysteries’,² part of that contribution lay in muffling coughs, sniffles, and the birds nesting in the eaves. The statuary, glass, embroideries and wall-paintings of churches served not only to glorify God and the saints, to set apart the building, to contribute to the spectacle and to educate the illiterate, but also to surround easily-distracted people with spiritually edifying distractions so that, losing focus on one devotion, they might be directed towards others. In dark pre-1200 churches and chapels, the small windows were sometimes designed and placed deliberately to throw light on the altar and/or the Rood, drawing the congregants’ eyes (and minds) towards such devotional foci.³ The congregation at the mass was the real community of real people, warts and all, and the liturgy, its implements and its venue were designed to accommodate this inevitable fact. Although little is known about the patrons of devotional art in parish churches, the apparently increasing popularity of roods in thirteenth-century naves – the part of the church for which the laity were responsible – suggests congregational participation in creating the settings for their own devotions.⁴

D. Case Study: Visitation Records

¹ C&S II, 31: ‘Commoneat etiam quilibet sacerdos parochianos suos ut in ecclesia orationibus vacent, non clamoribus, non vanis confabulacionibus’; and *ibid.*, 299 (Worcester): ‘Cum autem in celebratione misse corpus domini per manus sacerdotum in altum erigitur, campanella pulsetur ut per hoc devotio torpentium excitetur et aliorum caritas fortius inflammetur’.

² S. Sticca, ‘Drama and Spirituality in the Middle Ages’, *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 4 (1973), 73.

³ R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), 297-98.

⁴ C.D. Cragoe, ‘Belief and Patronage in the English Parish before 1300: Some Evidence from Roods’, *Architectural History* 48 (2005), 21-48. For the post-1300 period, see C.P. Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief* (Oxford, 2000); K. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia, 2001), esp. 141-207; *eadem*, ‘Parochial Fund-Raising in Late-Medieval Somerset’, in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. K. French, G. Gibbs and B. Kümin (Manchester, 1997), 115-32, and E. Duffy, ‘The Parish, Piety, and Patronage in Late-Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood Screens’, 133-62 in the same volume.

Our assessment of liturgical realities in parish churches and chapels can be given some quasi-empirical foundation by records of liturgical manuscript ownership. This, and other information about specific parish churches, is contained in several sets of visitation records from the thirteenth century. Two sets will be considered here: the visitations of churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1249-52 and again in 1297. This series is particularly useful because all the churches visited in mid-century were visited again (with others) in 1297, affording us the opportunity to track change over time.

In the thirteenth century, there was a fairly standard list of eight liturgical books that a parish church should own, and we will measure the book lists in these visitation returns against this standard:¹

Missal.

Lectionary, typically in two volumes: these lessons were read at matins.

Antiphoner.

Gradual: containing anthems to be sung between the first and second lessons in the mass.

Psalter.

Troper or Sequence Book: containing texts sung during the mass between the Gradual and the Gospel.

Ordinal: containing extra directions on celebrating the daily office and the mass after a particular 'use' (e.g. that of London, Sarum or York.).

Manual: contained pastoral liturgies such as the solemnization of matrimony, baptism, and burial.

¹ C&S II, 296, 379, 599, 1005-06, 1387, 1388, and *Templum*, 50, show slight but not very significant variations in this list. See also J. Shinnars, 'Parish Libraries in Medieval England', in *A Distinct Voice*, ed. J. Brown and W.P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, 1997), 207-30; J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), 58-66; A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office* (Toronto, 1982), 118-244; Simpson, *1297 Visitations*, xxiv, l-lvi; and Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*.

In addition to these eight, the priest should have had a Breviary for saying or singing the daily offices, which laypeople could also attend.

*Mid-century visitations*¹

Fifteen churches were visited in the years 1249-1252. The church at Barling had a good Psalter, but no other books were recorded there; either the church was not functioning, considering the poor state of repair reported by the visitors, or the report is deficient. In either case, it is an anomaly which would confuse the present analysis, so it will be discounted in statistical considerations.

Only three of the remaining fourteen churches had all eight of the 'required' liturgical books; six more had seven out of eight; two had six, two had five, and one (Heybridge) had only four, though this is a separate case, and will be discussed below.

The *sine qua non* of service books was, predictably, the Missal. All fourteen of the churches had apparently functional copies. The least often found of the eight books was the Ordinal: only four of the fourteen churches were reported to possess Ordinals. Three of these were the only three which had all eight service books, and the fourth church had seven of the eight: it was the book to be acquired when all others had been taken care of. Swanson has written that 'the liturgical possibilities of a cathedral greatly exceeded those of an ordinary parish church, where practicalities must have led to considerable pruning of the ceremonial.'² The absence of Ordinals reflects just this sort of simplification.

Heybridge shows the possibilities of adaptation. It was recorded to have only half of the required books *per se*, but it did have a 'portehors' or small Breviary for saying the daily office, which only four other churches in this sample certainly had. Heybridge also had '*Unum temporale cum ympnario Sanctorum per se, consuetudinarius*

¹ Simpson, '1249 Visitations'.

² R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 92.

quia nullus': that is, because it lacked an Ordinal,¹ the vicar used another book for some of the same information. Heybridge did not conform to the theoretical norm, but it was functioning. One of the missing books was the Troparium, containing texts following the Gradual; this was one of the more dispensable books. Moreover, Heybridge was the only one of the fifteen churches visited in 1249-52 which was recorded to have a Processional, containing texts used in processions. David, the vicar at Heybridge, was therefore able to offer his congregation a more rounded liturgical life than the stark statistic of half of the required books would suggest – even if it differed from the liturgies being celebrated in neighbouring parishes. Similarly, at Chiswick, the Legenda was missing; in its stead was one '*leccionarium de usu monachali*,' the monastic equivalent, doubtless acquired second-hand.

Kirkby parish, which lacked only the Ordinal, had a book for preaching: '*Item omelarium bonum; temporale a Pascha usque ad Septuagesimam de dono Capituli Sancti Pauli*.' As Septuagesima is ten weeks before Easter, the homiliary covered four-fifths of the year. The treasurer of St Paul's had provided a good Missal for Chiswick church, and the chapter had provided some vestments at Kirkby; combining these with the very fact of the visitation under discussion and a previous visitation referred to in the text,² it gives the impression that the dean and chapter of St Paul's did not neglect the spiritual welfare of the parishes in their visitatorial jurisdiction.

From these and other observations, we can illustrate what the 'average' church among this sampling was like. It had seven of the eight required liturgical books, the missing one probably being the Ordinal; its liturgy was probably adorned only moderately. It had two copies of several of its books, one new and one old. One or two of its books would need replacement soon. Some pieces were missing, but

¹ The visitors were apparently using the term '*Consuetudinarium*' loosely and meant an Ordinal. Customaries were books for collegiate churches such as cathedrals, not for parish use, but they were similar to Ordinals.

² Simpson, '1249 Visitations', 13.

the priest would fill the gaps with other materials as he could. Smaller liturgical texts were scattered about throughout the bound volumes. The church just might have a Breviary or some other book not mandated by the 'canon,' but not much else would occupy the book-chest. If the vicar were a sufficiently literate priest, he could provide his flock with a decent liturgical round, week by week, throughout the year, and take care of such occasional services as baptism, marriage, and burial; he was provided with the texts to do little else in an official sense, and so his personal character, playing out in his interactions (pastoral and otherwise) with his parishioners, would have no small effect on the care of souls he had to offer. This document tells us nothing about the vicars, but the illumination offered by the inventories is considerable.

1297 visitations¹

The visitations of 1297 include all of the fifteen churches visited in 1249-52, allowing for some continuity, plus seven more. These accounts are more thorough, averaging about sixty percent longer each in print. This is apparently because the churches in 1297 simply had more items to list. An important category is added, copies of ecclesiastical legislation. However, we cannot assume that there were no copies in mid-century, as the visitors apparently used a checklist that may have omitted this category.

The obvious change shown by these records is that fifteen out of twenty-two churches (68%) had all eight of the required liturgical books, compared with three out of fourteen (21%) at mid-century. The Ordinal had risen in popularity; three of the Ordinals recorded were of Sarum usage rather than that of St Paul's, as Sarum Rite was on the path to predominance.² Two churches lacked Ordinals entirely,

¹ Simpson, *1297 Visitations*.

² Morgan, 'Sarum Calendar'.

though four others apparently had copies which were described as 'deficient.'¹

Still more striking is the increasing popularity of the Martyrology and the Processional. The mid-century visitations found only one of each, but in 1297 there were seventeen churches with Martyrologies (though eleven of these were incomplete or deficient) and eleven churches (50%) with Processionals, three of which had a second copy. The increase in Ordinals, Martyrologies and Processionals indicates that the liturgical resources of the parishes had increased over the preceding half-century.

The Breviary, however, seems to have decreased. Five churches were reported to have copies at each visitation, but as half again as many churches were visited in 1297, the proportion drops by a third. In some dioceses, it was the responsibility of the parish priest to have a breviary,² whereas it was the parishioners' responsibility to provide the eight required books, and it is likely that the clergy kept their books separate from the parish's, leaving the actual presence of breviaries underreported.

The 1297 visitors found additional pastoral literature, a category missing entirely from the earlier visitations except for the homiliary at Kirkby. Heybridge, which had seemed so poorly supplied forty-five years before, had the most. Here the visitors found a '*diccionarium penitentiarum*' bound with saints' lives and other pastoral addenda. The vicar at Heybridge was far better textually equipped than neighbouring priests for hearing his parishioners' confessions. Heybridge also possessed a book of sermons for saints' days and an Epistolarium, containing the epistle texts probably divided up for reading in mass throughout the year. Only one other church on these records (Walton) had one. This suggests, as does the Crawford Missal,

¹ 'Deficit/deficiunt': this verb normally means 'it is/they are missing'; but it is clear elsewhere that a book that was present was described as 'deficit', so it must sometimes mean 'deficient.' It is possible that this does not mean 'incomplete' but merely a very poor copy. The practical difference between a disintegrating book and a missing one would be small.

² C&S II, 296, 599.

that the epistle readings were often omitted from mass in parish churches.

Other extras include an ‘office of the common of penitents’ bound with the Psalter at Kirkby. The same church had a book of Sunday sermons. Also of interest is this item at Yardley: ‘*Unum primarium cum septem psalmis,¹ et XV², et Placebo et Dirige.*’³ Primers were rather new at this time and were not yet the books for lay use that they later became. This was a liturgical book used by the priest to pray for the souls of the departed.

To sketch a picture of the books in the ‘typical’ church in the 1297 visitation: It had copies of all eight of the required liturgical books, sometimes two or three copies; it had both volumes of the Legenda a spare copy of one of them. It might have a Processional, and it had a partial Martyrology. Other pastoral literature could be found, but the majority of its books were liturgical, which would remain the most significant part of the *cura animarum* as offered by the parish clergy. Once again, much depends upon the character of the curates who oversaw their charges, about which these visitation records say nothing; but it is clear that their books offered greater liturgical potential than in mid-century.

¹ The seven penitential psalms, (Vulgate) 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.

² Simpson suggested that this refers to the prayer called the ‘Fifteen Oes.’ However, it is more likely that XV refers to the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, Psalms 119-133 in the Vulgate. Simpson, *1297 Visitations*, 50; H. Littlehales, ed., *The Prymer or Lay Folk’s Prayer Book* (London, 1897), 44-46.

³ The *Placebo* and *Dirige* (the latter in two parts) formed the office for the dead. Littlehales, *The Prymer*, 52-78.

I.6: Confession and Penance in the Parish

While we cannot know how often thirteenth-century English Catholics confessed, confession and its implications were clearly a matter of great importance to Church and society, to the extent that Biller has argued, ‘So much of the medieval Church *was* this system of confession and penance, with all its ramifications’.¹

Our consideration of the sacrament of penance may be divided neatly into three sections: contrition, confession, and satisfaction (the working-out of assigned penances). This arrangement, apparently originated by St. Anselm, was followed by many mediaeval authors on penance.²

A. Contrition

Contrition was considered a necessary part of the sacrament. Documents of indulgence, for instance, typically state that benefit would only be had if the recipient were *contritus et confessus*. Contrition was held to comprise both sorrow or regret for sins committed and a genuine determination to forbear from sinning henceforth.³ Grosseteste considered that a confession was ‘sufficient when it has been true, whole, clear, uncovered, bitter, and ashamed.’⁴ The two outward signs often ascribed to inward contrition were blushing and tears, indicating shame and sorrow.

It may be that contrition increased in significance during the course of the thirteenth century in the minds of laity and parish clergy. The older canonical tradition of penance did consider contrition to be important, but satisfaction was still paramount, and it was

¹ P. Biller, ‘Introduction’, in *Handling Sin*, 23. Pope Innocent III concurred: W.J. Dohar, ‘Since the Pestilence Time: Pastoral Care in the Later Middle Ages’, in G. Evans, ed., *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), 169-200, esp. 172.

² P. Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de Pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Louvain, 1949), 63. Cf. C&S II, 220.

³ E.g. C&S II, 220-21.

⁴ ‘Sufficiens quidem erit narratio cum vera fuit, integra, plana, nuda, amara, verecunda.’ ‘Deus Est’, 247.

specific prescriptions of penances that filled the pages of penitentials.¹ This emphasis was probably echoed in practice. The tradition of placing contrition ahead of satisfaction in importance developed during the twelfth century and was being diffused to the parochial sphere by the thirteenth.² Thomas of Chobham, an English student of Peter the Chanter at Paris, wrote in his confessors' *summa*,

Since any sacrament ought to have a sign and a material, in this sacrament that material is the remission of sins itself which God gives to man. The sign is the contrition of the heart, since, just as when a stone is pulverised, it is annihilated, likewise when a heart is crushed, sin is annihilated. Therefore, in confession, blushing itself is the sign of interior contrition; and in satisfaction, devotion itself is the sign of remission. ... That all sin is remitted by contrition alone is plain through the Psalmist saying, 'I said, "I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord," and You forgave the iniquity of my sin.'³

Simultaneously another Englishman in Paris, Robert of Flamborough, was advising the readers of his manual to give their penitents the full canonical penance if they were able to take it, or as much as they were able:

I wish to admonish you, priest, that if through gross ignorance or negligence or on account of some grace or favour or consideration of the person⁴... you punish the penitent less than the authentic penances require canonically (provided that he requested and was prepared to undertake the full canonical penance), that same person, I argue, will be saved, and even freed from purgatory, I say, the penance enjoined by you on him being completed; you, however, will be in danger ... however much you are able, you should induce repentance so that he may undertake canonical and authentic penance.⁵

¹ E.g. Flamborough, *Liber*.

² S. Hamilton, 'Penance in the Age of Gregorian Reform', *SCH* 40, 47-73; Little, *Religious Poverty*, 188-90.

³ 'Et cum quodlibet sacramentum debeat habere signum et rem, in hoc sacramento res est ipsa remissio peccatorum quam deus dat homini. Signum est ipsa contritio cordis, quia sicut cum lapis conteritur, adnihilatur, ita cum cor conteritur, peccatum adnihilatur. In ipsa autem confessione ipsa erubescencia signum est interioris contritionis, et in satisfactione ipsa devotio signum est remissionis. ... Quod autem per solam contritionem remittatur omnis culpa patet per psalmistam dicentem: *dixi confitebor adversum me iniustitiam meam deo, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei*.' Chobham, *Summa*, 8; Ps. 31:5 in the Vulgate reckoning, Jerome's translation from the Septuagint.

⁴ Cf. Acts 10:34.

⁵ Postremo monere te volo, sacerdos, quia, si per ignorantiam grossam vel negligentiam vel propter gratiam aliquam vel favorem vel personae acceptionem... punis poenitentem et minus quam canonicae et authenticae exigant poenitentiae (dummodo ipse petat et paratus sit suscipere quantumlibet et

Chobham's attitude was progressive, while Flamborough's was conservative, but these ideas existed side by side: Flamborough wrote at the request of Richard Poore, then dean of Salisbury Cathedral; Chobham was Poore's subdean and wrote his treatise in the same years.¹ Both manuscripts would have sat on the shelf in the cathedral library, both may have been used by the diocesan penitentiaries (passing on their ideas to the parish clergy), both were sources used by other writers in mid-century.² The parish clergy were apparently slower in moving towards the progressive stance than were the mendicant friars, leading to friction between them, as will be discussed later. Nonetheless, by late in the century, Peter Quinel, bishop of Exeter, wrote in his diocesan statutes,

Let [the confessor] not have wandering eyes, but eyes bowed down to the ground, not looking at the face of the confessing one, except to the point of being able to judge the contrition of the penitent's heart, and blushing, which is the greatest part of penance.³

B. Confession

Few records of actual confessions exist, as few were ever written. The intent of the process was to purge the penitent of sin and its effects in such a way that not even God would remember it; recording the transactions of particular confessions would have been illogical at best, and gravely dangerous at worst. A priest who revealed what had been said to him in a confession faced serious discipline, including defrocking, not to mention losing the trust of his parishioners, and

canonicam poenitentiam), ipse quidem, ut puto, salvabitur et etiam a purgatorio liberabitur, peracta dico poenitentia a te sibi iniuncta, tu autem in periculo eris. ...quantumcumque potes, poenitentiam inducas ut canonicam et authenticam suscipiat poenitentiam. Flamborough, *Liber*, 276.

¹ *Fasti* Salisbury, 38-39; Flamborough, *Liber*, 6-9.

² Flamborough was used by Grosseteste in *Templum*, while Chobham and the *Templum* were both used by the anonymous Dominican author of the influential *Speculum Iuniorum*. *Templum*, 3n, 13.

³ 'Vagos non habeant oculos sed pronos in terram, non respicientes faciem confitentis, nisi quatenus ipsius cordis contritionem et erubescenciam, que est maxima pars penitentie valeant estimare'. *C&S* II, 992.

recording what went on in a particular confession would violate the seal of secrecy.¹

Nonetheless, some records suggest what could happen, what a priest might expect to find, what sins might be confessed to him, and how he ought to respond. The earliest of these were the penitentials, books originating in a monastic milieu and probably beginning to influence the laity first in early mediaeval Ireland, where monasticism and pastoral care of the laity were more intricately interwoven than in most other parts of Western Christendom.² Penitentials were works mostly of canon law that prescribed specific (often harsh) penances for certain sins, and, as the metaphors of sin as disease and penance as medicine were ubiquitous, prescription is indeed the idea intended.³ From the late twelfth century, another genre of works designed to help confessors began to make headway, coming not from the nascent universities' faculties of canon law but from their faculties of theology, aiming at pastoral and moral theology and making much finer distinctions than the canonical penitentials.⁴ These two families of *summae* are exemplified by Flamborough's and Chobham's works, respectively, discussed above. Both genres usually offered practical advice to the confessor, from which the historian can glean some idea of what priest and penitent did and said in general terms. Another source for confessional practice is *exempla*, stories for use in preaching, which may relate either specific real instances (taken out of context to preserve anonymity) or at least recognisable circumstances. Life also imitates art: part of the purpose and effect of these *exempla*

¹ The exception was when priests and bishops spoke or corresponded: this was held to be still behind the seal of confession. *Reg. Quivil*, 314; A. Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century', in R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1981), 275-322.

² T. O'Loughlin, 'Penitentials and Pastoral Care', in G. Evans, ed., *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), 93-111. See also the series of essays on penitentials in *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006).

³ E.g. *C&S* II, 1059-77. See also R.A. Duffy, 'The *Medicus* and its Transformation from its Patristic to its Medieval and Tridentine Usages', in N. Mitchell and J.F. Baldwin, ed., *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith* (Collegeville, MN, 1996), 106-27.

⁴ Chobham, *Summa*, xii-xxv.

was to direct both priest and penitent in how to speak and behave during confession.

While the frequency of confession is difficult to ascertain, the theoretical direction is well known: the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis* of the Fourth Lateran Council commanded that all Christians were to confess to their ‘appropriate priest’ (a term heavily debated over the ensuing century and more, but generally understood as the parish priest) at least once per year in preparation for receiving the Eucharist at Easter.¹ This was not a new idea; it was a more or less established practice, and had been in varying degrees dating back to the early Church.² In some English dioceses, the laity were directed to confess and then receive the Eucharist at Christmas and Pentecost as well.³ Pregnant women approaching the time of birth were sometimes told to confess because of the hazards of childbirth.⁴ The Fourth Lateran Council mandated that a physician could not care for a patient for more than two days before sending for a priest because sin or other spiritual problems could be behind physical ailments, and the latter could not be cured before the former: ‘*cum causa cessante cesset effectus*’.⁵ Judging from English diocesan legislation, the priest’s visit would have consisted of hearing the patient’s confession and displaying the *viaticum* (consecrated host) to the patient.⁶

The setting is also important. The confession box was unknown to the thirteenth century. It appears – for instance, from *exempla* – that confession generally took place within the parish church building, with the exceptions of confessions on childbed, sickbed or

¹ DEC, 245.

² A. Murray, ‘Confession Before 1215’, *TRHS* 6th s. 3 (1993), 51-81, argues that lay confession was rare before Lateran IV; R. Meens, ‘The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance’, in *Handling Sin*, 35-61, counters more persuasively that annual confession was quite common. See also Goering, ‘Popularization’, 129 n. 110, and N. Vincent, ‘Some Pardoner’s Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences’, *TRHS* 6th s. 12 (2002), 23-58.

³ Salisbury, Durham, Coventry, Canterbury, Worcester, Exeter. *C&S* II, 72-73, 211, 236, 303-04, 992.

⁴ *C&S* II, 35, 89, 444, 706.

⁵ DEC, 245-46.

⁶ See examples in *C&S* II, 1419, under ‘communion of sick and dying’; and the 1292 statutes of Sodor and Man diocese: *Records of Convocation I: Sodor and Man, 1229-1877*, ed. G. Bray (Woodbridge, 2005), 30-31.

deathbed.¹ Many bishops directed their parish clergy to hear women's confessions in such a place that they could be seen but not heard, in order to avoid any scandal, whether due to real transgressions or falsely rumoured ones.² Some clarified that women's confessions should not take place behind a curtain, suggesting that some penitents sought privacy, and it is possible that some men continued to confess behind a curtain or screen.³ It seems that the first part of confession was some form of prayer: the priest alone might pray, he might pray with the penitent, and he might even ask the penitent to pray for him.⁴ In practice in a parish church setting, a well-known prayer such as the *Pater noster* might have been used.

Then followed an enquiry into the penitent's faith. In older penitentials, such as the early eleventh-century *Corrector et Medicus*, the requirements of faith were only the most basic and put in simple terms: the Trinity and the resurrection of the flesh before the final judgement.⁵ By the thirteenth century, considerably more might be required in some cases; after all, inquisition into heresy was merely a subset of the practice of confession, in the hope that the heretic, like the sinner, would repent. By the time of Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum*, the question was not whether the penitent was simply a Christian, but rather *Si teneat rectam fidem*, and the penitent was to be quizzed on the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, being taught them if he did not know, though on the individual articles of the Creed, he was to be questioned *sine subtilitate*.⁶ It is unlikely that parish priests ever used Chobham's text, due to its considerable length, but it is apparent that a certain amount of doctrinal

¹ Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source', 289; *C&S* II, 144.

² E.g. *C&S* II, 72.

³ *C&S* II, 188, 637.

⁴ See examples in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. and trans. J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer (New York, 1938).

⁵ PL CXL, 950.

⁶ Chobham, *Summa*, 242-44.

questioning was normally part of a confession in thirteenth-century England.¹

While there was no organised heresy in thirteenth-century England, there can be little doubt that there was heterodoxy and doubt. If schoolmen slipped from time to time into heresy, it can hardly be expected that parish clergy never led their parishioners down the wrong path, much less that their parishioners should never err when developing their worldviews. Such misunderstandings must be seen as the product of an attempt to understand, and admission of them is no slight on the intelligence or perceptiveness of the laity: it is rather an acknowledgement that lay spirituality had a certain rough and uneven reality. Moreover, most of the parish clergy were raised up from this lay milieu and, while they themselves were to confess regularly to their deans, archdeacons or official penitentiaries, during the course of which these subjects might come up and be corrected, there was no automatic leap from a lay to a clerical theology at ordination.²

As the confession proceeded, the confessor was to help the penitent search his or her conscience. In order to do so, confessors' manuals had *schemae*, in the form of lists or tables, intended to give the confessor a thorough programme of investigation into the state of the penitent's life and soul. Models included sins against faith, hope and love; the seven deadly sins and the seven cardinal virtues; the ten commandments; and other lists of questions for the confessor to ask.³ In many cases, it appears that such questioning was needed, for the penitent may not have given much thought to preparing for

¹ C&S II, 73, 134, 172, 269, 305, 346, 405, 424, 519, 648, 713. These injunctions end just after mid-century: perhaps bishops considered the practice to be sufficiently well-established by that time not to need reiteration.

² See, *inter alia*, J. Delemeau, 'Prescription and Reality', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. Leites, (Cambridge, 1981), 134-58; A. Guerevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. J.M. Bak and P.A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge, 1988), 26-33, 78-103; J. van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519-52, esp. 537-52; A. Murray, 'Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans', *Traditio* 30 (1974), 285-324; W.L. Wakefield, 'Some Unorthodox Popular Ideas of the Thirteenth Century', *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 4 (1973), 25-35; S. Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism', *TRHS* 6th s. 1 (1991), 21-41.

³ E.g., *Templum*, *passim*.

confession, or may have been unaware that certain actions or thoughts were sinful.¹

From the later twelfth century the idea that ‘circumstances alter cases’ came to the fore, that is, an action could be made more or less blameworthy depending upon the situation. This idea was disseminated very quickly in England in the thirteenth century, not only through confessors’ manuals but also through diocesan legislation. Other directives may have added to these methods, such as Grosseteste’s injunction that the rector of Sproxton ‘should come at Michaelmas to be fully examined regarding the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments, and the seven [deadly] sins *with circumstances*.’²

In addition to assigning appropriate penances, the priest was to counsel the penitent on how to avoid sins in the future, beyond merely fear of having to undertake penances again or suffer more in purgatory.³ Schemae could include clear direction on such matters: Grosseteste’s popular *Templum Dei* includes a table correlating seven vices (which are counterparts of the seven cardinal virtues), the seven petitions of the *Paternoster*, seven of the Beatitudes, and seven ‘medicines’, attitudes that must be assumed to conquer the vices and achieve the virtues and beatitudes. Thus someone lacking the virtue of temperance has the vice of intemperance; he should pray ‘deliver us from evil’ and practice abstinence, helping him to become poor in spirit and thus fit to receive the kingdom of heaven. By applying this schema in hearing a confession, the confessor would not only have a system for enquiring after different sorts of sin: he would also be able to guide the penitent towards the corresponding virtue and give practical direction on how to carry it out. It was not for nothing that

¹ A. Murray, ‘Counselling in Medieval Confession’, in *Handling Sin*, 63-77, at 74.

² *Rot. Grosseteste* 416-17: ‘Veniet ad festum Sancti Michaelis, plenius examinandus super x prec’, vii sacramentis, vii cri’ cum circumstanciis.’

³ Murray, ‘Counselling’.

Grosseteste wrote beneath this diagnostic tool, 'In this table consists the whole care of the pastoral office.'¹

How long did a typical confession take? Around the beginning of Lent, if a priest's exhortations had been successful, he might have to hear several confessions in an hour if nothing seemed terribly wrong.² What was pressing was to search out mortal sins, which had to be absolved before receiving the Eucharist, and other sins reserved to the bishop's jurisdiction, such as striking a cleric. Similarly predominant would be those 'grainier sins which hurt or upset neighbours or members of one's family', for confession was an important tool for bringing about interpersonal reconciliation and orchestrating social harmony.³ While the weeks leading into the beginning of Lent were the time of the greatest quantity of confessions, those of greater quality would have required more time and probably occurred during the remainder of the year. Without the canonical requirement to confess, few parishioners may have availed themselves of the priest's less busy times, and so only those who did stood personally to reap the benefits of thoughtfully written confessors' manuals and the counsel of the parish priest.

Hearing the confessions of women posed a number of problems to the confessor in addition to the need to balance privacy with visibility. 'Confession had evolved in the peculiarly masculine monastic environment of the early Middle Ages. Not surprisingly, then, in the literature associated with the *cura animarum* in general, and confession in particular, the male is taken as paradigmatic'.⁴ It was also the model with which the male confessor could empathise. Jacqueline Murray has argued strongly that this paradigm had the

¹ 'In hac tabula est tota cura officii pastoralis.' *Templum*, 38.

² P. Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), 12-13.

³ Biller, 'Introduction'; J. Bossy, 'The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation', *TRHS* 5th s. 25 (1975), 21-38; W.H. Campbell, 'Theologies of Reconciliation in Thirteenth-Century England', *SCH* 40 (2004), 84-94; J. Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', in *Conscience and Casuistry*, ed. Leites, 214-34; R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 61-63; N. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 303-04; PL CXL, 949.

⁴ J. Murray, 'Gendered Souls in Sexed Bodies: The Male Construction of Female Sexuality in Some Medieval Confessors' Manuals', in *Handling Sin*, 79-93, quoting 81.

effect of sidelining a woman in her own confession, at least to judge from manuals; and with regard to the confessor's weakness and lust, 'We may well wonder about the extent to which a confessor's fear of his own libidinousness would override his pastoral concern for his penitent', especially by trying to keep the confession as short as possible, literally short shrift.¹ Another concern of the confessor was to assign an adulterous wife penances that she could keep secret from her husband: assigning obvious penances would be, in effect, a violation of the seal of secrecy, and in the event would also disrupt the marriage and the community.² The male clerical culture (both written and hierarchical); the need to avoid sexual involvement with female penitents, for which punishment was dire; even the desire to avoid opportunities for impure fantasies, which, aside from being sinful, could only make physical continence more trying; certainly these impinged upon priests' minds and affected this most personal and individual experience of pastoral care for women in a way that was not altogether helpful.

Nonetheless, Murray seems to forget that parish priests spent their lives in ordinary communities, perhaps with a slight numerical majority of women; that, while confession provided a more dangerous opportunity, practice in continence would be quotidian; and that clergy were probably drawn from normal families, with mothers, sisters, grandmothers, aunts, female cousins, and so on, thus understanding women as well as any other man. Clergy could be widowers, or illegitimate sons who grew up in matriarchal households – Herbert and Richard Poore, successive bishops of Salisbury, both received dispensations for illegitimate birth, apparently begotten by the same man by two different women.³ If a priest were a widower, or had once kept a concubine, he not only had sexual experience: he

¹ J. Murray, 'The Absent Penitent: The Cure of Women's Souls and Confessors' Manuals in Thirteenth-Century England', in L. Smith and J.H.M. Taylor, ed., *Women, the Book and the Godly* (Woodbridge, 1995), 13-25, quoting 19. On friars and the women's confessions, see II.6 and II.7 below.

² E.g. C&S II, 32, 71, 639; J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), 48-50.

³ *EEA* 18, I, iv.

might also have daughters. The household of his childhood possibly included single female servants, thus growing up with the practice of daily living (in theory) chastely along with women in a subservient position with whom he might have had opportunities for fornication just as tempting as the confessional. Aquinas appears justified in arguing that continence should be one of the easier virtues for the cleric to follow, since, through sexual abstinence and fasting, he has plenty of practice in denying the desires of the flesh.¹

C. Satisfaction

As sins could be either public and exterior or private and interior, public and private penances were assigned correspondingly. However, this distinction was clearer in theory than in practice, for even private penance could have publicly visible aspects.² There also existed 'solemn penance', which was, more or less, the public penance and reconciliation of the excommunicated.

Private penance consisted of fasting, almsgiving, and prayers. Penitential manuals offered 'commutations' by which one sort of penance could be converted into another: for instance, if a person had not the health to allow fasting, recitation of psalms could suffice.³ The effects of private penance, even if only an annual affair, should not be underestimated: Burgess has argued that the sacrament of penance was more formative to laypeople's minds than the mass.⁴ A parishioner in the habit of annual confession might well remember the shame of owning up to a certain sin year after year and then having to undertake penances putting strains on her stomach, purse, or time, helping to divert her from repeating the sin. In addition, one of the

¹ S.C. Selner-Wright, 'A Thomistic Analysis of the Expectation of Priestly Chastity and of the Response of the Laity to the Violation of the Expectation', communication delivered at the Thirty-Eighth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 2003.

² M.C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).

³ Flamborough, *Liber*, 275-76.

⁴ C. Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England', in *Parish, Church and People*, ed. S. Wright (London, 1988), 56-79.

seminal works from which medieval confessors' manuals derived was Gregory the Great's *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*, according to which

some active behavioural response was required for the proper reception of the Eucharist. ... For if you are serious about behavioural change, Gregory thought, you will work incrementally by small steps to modify actually revisable behaviour as evidence of your earnest desire for change.¹

As a safeguard against penitents' failure to work out private penances, which were not easily monitored by the priest, confessors' manuals constantly reminded the priest to warn the penitent that any penance not done in this life would need to be worked off in purgatory, where it would involve incomparably more suffering.² A more positive view might have been to remind parishioners that the deserved punishment of purgatory could be worked off more easily in this life, God's merciful response to the penitent's manifest contrition and piety. Robert of Flamborough put it thus:

Say to [the penitent]: 'Brother, it is right that you shall be punished either in this life or in purgatory. Moreover, incomparably more grave is the pain of purgatory than anything in this life. Behold: your soul is in your hands; therefore, choose for yourself whether you are to be punished sufficiently in this life by canonical or authentic penances, or to look forward to those of purgatory.'³

Public penance has a longer history, dating to the early Church, when notorious sinners were excommunicated and had a one-time-only chance of returning to the fold, often in ceremonies at the Vigil of Easter. St Jerome, in a passage quoted often by mediaeval authors on penance, wrote that original sin was a shipwreck, baptism was the first plank after shipwreck, penance was the second, and there was no third.⁴ In the Patristic period and the early Middle Ages, the

¹ T.C. Oden, *Care of Souls in the Classic Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1984), 51-52.

² Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented'".

³ 'Dicas ei: Frater, oportet te vel in hac viti puniri vel in purgatorio. Incomparabiliter autem gravior est poena purgatorii quam aliqua in hac vita. Ecce anima tua in manibus tuis; elige ergo tibi vel in hac vita sufficienter secundum poenitentias canonicas vel authenticas puniri vel purgatorium exspectare.' Flamborough, *Liber*, 277.

⁴ 'Secunda post naufragium tabula est culpam simpliciter confiteri.' Jerome, Epist. 84, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 55 pars 6 p. 128. Cited, for instance, in Hubert Walter's

sacrament of penance could only be done once; in essence, solemn penance was the only sort available. This began to change by the eleventh century with the acknowledgement that unrepeatable penance was a pastoral failure: because of the weight of the penances, people often put off their reconciliation until their deathbed, and since death was not always predictable, many people died unshriven, in a state of mortal sin.¹ Thirteenth-century confessors' manuals were still discordant on this matter; Flamborough considered that private penance was repeatable but not really sacramental, while sacramental solemn penance was not repeatable.²

Sins requiring public penance had to be referred to the bishop or to a penitentiary delegated by him. In 1290, the penitentiary of the bishop of Lincoln absolved

Richard son of Henry of Empingham from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by assaulting a clerk in Empingham church. Richard was to appear in Empingham church as a penitent and receive five beatings on the hands on five successive Sundays, and on three of them he was to make offerings and kneel before the altar from the end of the Gospel until after the elevation of the host.³

This was a fairly typical instance of public penance. Other punishments could include going on pilgrimage or the ritual humiliation of walking in procession in one's underclothes bearing a candle. Although Archbishop Pecham lamented in 1281 that such solemn public penance was falling into disuse, Bishop Oliver Sutton was certainly still using it in Lincoln diocese.⁴

Visible acts of satisfaction surely had a role in defusing tensions in society by the perception that the guilty were being punished. If someone had committed a crime or sin that was well-known, or that clearly affected the community at large, then public admission of guilt

statutes (Council of Westminster, 1200), *C&S* I, 1062; in other diocesan statutes at *C&S* II, 67, 898, 986, etc.; in Peñaforte, *Summa*, 77.

¹ O'Loughlin, 'Penitentials'.

² Flamborough, *Liber*, 84, 271-73.

³ *Reg. Sutton* III, 40-41, quoting editor's synopsis.

⁴ *C&S* II, 899-900. The references to public penance in *Reg. Sutton* have been discussed in R. Hill, 'Public Penance: Some Problems of a Thirteenth-Century Bishop', *History* n.s. 36 (1951), 213-26.

and undertaking of penance, which could be shameful or painful, would have the twofold effect of deterring others from that same sin and allowing the guilty party to be reconciled to the community. Two *exempla* show parish priests using social pressure to induce sinners to confess.¹ If mediaeval laypeople agreed with Peter the Chanter that ‘the sin of one redounds upon everyone’, they might also feel that the penance of the guilty party averted divine wrath from the whole community.²

Satisfaction paid a tangible debt to society through restitution, almsgiving and indulgences. Restitution of ill-gotten gains, while not itself a penance, was considered necessary for absolution. In his analysis of the fourteenth-century confessors’ manual *Memoriale presbiterorum*, Haren has noted that restitution takes up more than one third of the work, so great was its importance.³ When a sin was such that the aggrieved party could not be repaid, indulgences were an option for divesting oneself of unjust profits. Although indulgences had their abuses, Haines has reminded us that proceeds from the sale of indulgences could go to help needy individuals, especially victims of accidents, and to maintain bridges, roads and hospitals. The sacrament of penance could result in tangible manifestations of the penitent’s ‘paying back’ of community and society.⁴ This was a vital aspect of the priest’s role as reconciler and peacekeeper in the parish community, as well as in maintaining the fabric of Catholic society.⁵

¹ J. Berlioz, ‘«Quand dire c’est faire dire»: Exempla et confession chez Étienne de Bourbon’, in *Faire Croire*, ed. École Française de Rome (Rome, 1981), 299-335, at 301-02.

² ‘Quod peccatum unius redundet in universos.’ *Verbum Adbreviatum*, 471.

³ He dates the work to ca. 1335-45. M. Haren, ‘Confession, Social Ethics and Social Discipline in the *Memoriale Presbiterorum*’, in *Handling Sin*, 109-22, citing 121.

⁴ R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana* (Toronto, 1989), 183-87. See also *Acta of Hugh*, 13, 96, 257; *Reg. Sutton III*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁵ On developments in the next century, see J. Hughes, ‘The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century’, in D.M. Smith, ed., *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England* (York, 1991), 87-163.

I.7: Priest and Parishioners

In the countryside, the abode of the large majority, the boundaries of the parish were frequently coterminous with those of the manor, and the convergence of the residential, productive, financial, juridical, and spiritual realms into one set of boundaries inevitably led to a close intertwining of the lives of the people in these communities.¹ The St. Paul's Cathedral parish visitation records of 1297 noted that sheep and cows (agricultural life) owned by the parish church (mostly collected as tithes of lambs and calves or as mortuary fees) were being rented by parishioners (financial interchange) for their milk and wool, the money returned supporting lights before altars and statues (devotional life).²

The urban or suburban parish would not have experienced this convergence to the same degree, as secular jurisdiction, economic activity and social life were less defined by parish boundaries.³ In both town and village, however, the parish priest was intertwined in all of these aspects of community life.⁴ Despite the resultant tensions, there existed a symbiotic relationship between priest and people.⁵ While the rector may have been a non-resident cleric or an institution many miles away, the man charged with the cure of souls was expected to live on site, and probably lived in a house close to the parish church, in theory close to the parishioners as well.⁶ In this location, he would have seen many of his parishioners on a near-daily basis as they passed one another in the road. Many parish clergy were of local

¹ D.M. Palliser, 'Introduction: The Parish in Perspective', in S. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People* (London, 1988), 5-10; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1997), 79-100; W.O. Ault, 'The Village Church and the Village Community in Medieval England', *Speculum* XLV (1970), 197-215. The unitive effect would have been mitigated in large rural parishes with chapels-of-ease: N. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish* (Cambridge, 2000), 91-92.

² Simpson, *1297 Visitations*, *passim*.

³ Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 128-46; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (Oxford, 1984), 93.

⁴ On the concept of local 'community' for historians, see K.L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia, 2001), 20-27.

⁵ J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1982), 40-45; Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 59; H.G. Richardson, 'The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *TRHS* 3rd s. 6 (1912), 88-128.

⁶ Richardson, 'Parish Clergy', 93-95.

origin, thus having familial and social ties and tensions predating ordination.¹

The parish priest might personally farm his glebe, the farmland owned by the parish church for the upkeep of the incumbent; he was thus a fellow-farmer, and would meet his parishioners in the fields. Vicars as well as rectors could farm, as the payment of a vicar sometimes included the fruits of the parish glebe. Alternately, the glebe might be rented or leased to a layman – typically a parishioner – and the residing rector or vicar would collect the rent. This would usually be a smaller sum than the collection of tithes, a financial provision for the Church that did not always meet with the wholehearted support of the laity, perhaps especially in lean years. This collection, necessary as it was, can never have been popular, and it could become a serious bone of contention.²

While clergy were canonically forbidden to participate in some legal proceedings, their intertwining with the community on financial levels could involve them in lawsuits as defendant or plaintiff in both secular and ecclesiastical courts.³ They might also be reported to ecclesiastical superiors for pastoral and disciplinary issues, such as unchastity, hinting at the contents of someone's confession, or non-performance of sacerdotal duties. As clergy could bring laypeople before archidiaconal courts, the laity also knew to whom to report clerical offences.⁴

The position of the priest in the community has best been described as one of prestige.⁵ The same person who offered the Church's services – bringing Christ close in transubstantiation, the baptism of children into the community of salvation, the turning of the keys of St. Peter to bind and loose sins eternally – also had the

¹ Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 159-70.

² Ault, 'Village Church and Community', 207-09.

³ DEC, 244; P.A. Bill, 'Five Aspects of the Medieval Parish Clergy of Warwickshire', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 10 (1965), 110.

⁴ B.R. Kemp, 'Informing the Archdeacon on Ecclesiastical Matters in Twelfth-Century England', in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill, ed., *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), 131-49.

⁵ So Goering, 'Popularization', 74, 92-93, 100-04.

authority to extract the Church's fees for doing so, including the tithe. He carried the keys to the parish church, often the only communal meeting-place and monument.¹ It was unlikely that anyone else in the parish could read Latin as well as he, raising his importance as local administration increasingly relied on documents.² He had been appointed by a patron, often the lord of the manor or an ecclesiastical corporation, and had been raised to clerical orders by the imposition of the hands of a bishop who might have been one of the great magnates of the kingdom and a prince of the Church. The peasant farming the strip of soil next to the glebe must have been aware that he was ploughing shoulder-to-shoulder with a man who was not quite of the same rank, even if he had been born as such, for he had authorities relating to every resident of the parish and connexions with the clerical network that extended to every parish in Western Christendom. Unless he was naturally bald, the tonsure made him conspicuous,³ and he was expected to be conspicuous also in the holiness of his manner of life.⁴ If he was successful in setting the example of charity, self-discipline, repentance and self-denial, he would in some measure earn the respect that was necessary for him to carry out his duties. Until the 1220s, the only ecclesiastical competitors the parish clergy had for prestige were nuns, monks, canons and the occasional hermit. When the friars arrived on the scene, often exhibiting significantly higher education, anonymous and more nuanced confessions, and a more austere manner of life claiming to be the perfect model, the parish clergy's prestige stock must have plummeted in the eyes of many of the laity, throwing into turmoil not only their own personal position vis-à-vis the community but also the pastoral duties that were dependent upon the

¹ Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 371-73.

² Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 46-56.

³ *C&S* I, 1049, 1067; *C&S* II, 56, 116, 188, 361, 432, 683-84, 914-15.

⁴ At least, this was the ecclesiastical hierarchy's expectation; his parishioners' expectations may have been quite different. J. Goering, 'The Changing Face of the Village Parish II: The Thirteenth Century', in J.A. Raftis, ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, (Toronto, 1981), 323-32; E. Mason, 'A Truth Universally Acknowledged', *SCH* 16 (1979), 175-76; R.N. Swanson, 'Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England', *EHR* 417 (1990), 845-69.

community's respect.¹ In the arguments between the parish clergy and the mendicant friars we will find both the acknowledged necessity of prestige for the pastoral mission and the divergence of the pastoral missions of these two groups of clergy.

¹ Goering, 'Popularization', 103-04, 110-12.

PART TWO:
THE PASTORAL CARE OF THE LAITY BY THE REGULAR ORDERS

*Quamvis cura animarum nichil sit pretiosus in hoc mundo,
cum pro hac sola Christus in cruce optulerit semetipsum.*

John Pecham OFM, 1287 (C&S II, 1078)

II.1: Introduction.

The English parochial system, though paralleled elsewhere, arose and evolved in an English context. The friars arose in the very different Mediterranean world and then spread to England. Like the religious orders that had come to England in the previous century, they soon adapted to and became naturalized parts of the social and religious landscape.

The mendicant orders originated independently of one another and for different reasons, though the development of each was influenced by the others to some degree (especially the later orders, the Austins and Carmelites, discussed in chapter 7), and above all each was embedded in the religious movements sweeping Latin Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Dominic founded the Order of Preachers primarily to stem the tide of heresy, which the established ecclesiastical order – especially the Cistercian missions to reconvert the Cathars, which Dominic had witnessed – conspicuously failed to achieve.¹ Although the way of life he outlined for his missionaries was adapted well to the task, its implementation would doubtless have been impossible, perhaps incomprehensible, one hundred and fifty years earlier.² The way had been paved and the model offered by the new understanding of *Vita Apostolica*, imitation of the life of the Apostles, which was finding resonance across Western Europe.³

Francis's initial intent was not to provide an orthodox outlet for effervescent lay spirituality, except his own.⁴ His vow of poverty in the presence of the bishop of Assisi was a personal act relating to his paternity rather than the fraternity soon grew around him.⁵ Yet once new brothers found him, he was careful to seek papal approbation for

¹ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 80-114, esp. 112-14.

² Little, *Religious Poverty*; Rivi, *Francis and the Laity*; R. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), 40-90.

³ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 199-200.

⁴ Little, *Religious Poverty*, 146; J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), 1-9; *idem*, *The Franciscans in England* (Oxford, 1974), 4.

⁵ Thomas of Celano, 'Vita Prima Sancti Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (1926-1941), 5-115, at 14-15; *idem*, 'Vita Secunda Sancti Francisci', in *ibid.*, 127-268, at 137-38.

his nascent order, granted verbally by Pope Innocent III in 1210,¹ and thus to provide an accepted ecclesiastical home for those, both clerical and lay, who wished to live 'life according to the Gospel', as Francis called the pattern of living he described and displayed.²

The tension in the similarities and differences between these two orders, from their earliest days, is neatly encapsulated by the tale that Francis and Dominic met in Rome: Dominic proposed a merger of their orders, Francis declined, and both left in friendship. This story's ready adoption and continued use in the historical traditions of both orders doubtless reflects its utility in maintaining good relations between them, which could be strained at times.³ It was commonly accepted for seven hundred years,⁴ testifying to its inherent plausibility: although it is a striking omission from the earliest hagiographies of both saints, it retains the aura of possibility. The brotherly manner in which early Dominicans often treated Franciscans – and were enjoined to do so in their Constitutions – may well come from Dominic's own direction.⁵

The two founders left indelible marks on their orders, determining the spirit of the enterprise and the future trajectory of development. Dominic's overriding concern was for the salvation (including present spiritual health) of the laity, a group of which he, a priest and an Augustinian Canon, was not a member. From the beginning, the preaching and teaching of sound doctrine were essential tools.⁶ This suggested a team of educated clerics, able to debate theology in public, and the canonical sanction to preach

¹ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 15-19.

² Rivi, *Francis and the Laity*, 42-44. This concept largely overlapped with that of Apostolic Life, but as Rivi points out, Francis far preferred the former term to the latter. Later Franciscans used the latter more often than Francis had.

³ C.F. Stephany, 'The Meeting of Saints Francis and Dominic', *Franciscan Studies* 47 (1987), 218-233.

⁴ Moorman accepted it unquestioningly in 1968: *History of the Franciscan Order*, 29; Vicaire had accepted it more guardedly a decade before: Vicaire, *Dominic*, 521 n 48, 515 n 58. See also Brooke, *Coming of the Friars*, 95-97, and Stephany, 'Meeting of Francis and Dominic'.

⁵ Tugwell found this a difficult clause to date, but noted that a date as early as 1221-1224, or even earlier, is 'at least as plausible' as a late date (1228-1236): Tugwell, 'Second Distinction', 152. For brotherly treatment of Franciscans by Dominicans in England in the 1220s, see II.2 below.

⁶ For instance, Dominic's *ad hominem* teaching and conversion of the Cathar innkeeper in 1203: Vicaire, *Dominic*, 46-60; *EEFP*, 333.

doctrine, which was limited to clergy.¹ In the diocese of Toulouse, however, where bishop Fulk nurtured the fledgling order, there were both Cathars and Catholics, and Dominic and his first brother preachers aimed to be of service to both in their predicative ministry.² It is unsafe to assume, as Moorman did,³ that the Dominicans faced some sort of crisis when they established themselves in England due to the lack of organised heresy there. Despite the population (but for the Jews) being all Catholics, medieval ‘popular religion’, including that of the lower clergy, accommodated substantial heterodoxy.⁴ Moreover, Dominicans were not only concerned with misbelief: a major target of their preaching was *accidia*, spiritual sloth or lethargy. Combating this Deadly Sin required more than catechesis: it called for moral exhortation.⁵

In surveying Dominican writings of the thirteenth century, Tugwell was obliged to conclude that ‘in the thirteenth century ... one is hard-pressed to find any [Dominican] spiritual books at all, let alone “spiritual classics”’.⁶ However, this is because the modern semantic field of ‘spiritual classic’ is too narrowly based on monastic spirituality, in which *lectio*, reading of Scripture and other Christian texts, led to *ruminatio*, literally ‘chewing-over’ the text, and finally *contemplatio*, contemplation. This had been reformulated dramatically by Peter the Chanter in twelfth-century Paris: *lectio* led to *disputatio*, schoolroom argumentation, a communal sort of rumination, which led in turn to *praedicatio*, preaching.⁷ The textual result was not the introspection one normally associates with ‘spiritual’ writings, but

¹ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 177; *EEFP*, 333-7.

² Brooke, *Coming of the Friars*, 94; Vicaire, *Dominic*, 164-172.

³ Moorman, *Church Life*, 398.

⁴ See, *inter alia*, J. Delemeau, ‘Prescription and Reality’, in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. Leites, (Cambridge, 1981), 134-58; A. Guerevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. J.M. Bak and P.A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge, 1988), 26-33, 78-103; J. van Engen, ‘The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem’, *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519-52, esp. 537-52; A. Murray, ‘Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans’, *Traditio* 30 (1974), 285-324; W.L. Wakefield, ‘Some Unorthodox Popular Ideas of the Thirteenth Century’, *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 4 (1973), 25-35; S. Reynolds, ‘Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism’, *TRHS* 6th s. 1 (1991), 21-41.

⁵ This will be discussed further in II.4 and II.6 below.

⁶ Tugwell, *Dominican Writings*, 1.

⁷ *Verbum Adbreviatum*, 9.

Tugwell points out that this was an outwardly-directed spirituality with dissemination rather than personal enlightenment as its goal. The early Dominicans adopted such a missionary spirituality, and this new triad of spiritual exercises would remain central to their vocation.¹

While the Dominicans followed a task, the Franciscans followed their founder. Unlike Dominic, Francis was an extraordinarily charismatic leader.² Even after his 'retirement' from leadership in 1220, Francis continued to guide his order,³ and in the year of his death he felt obliged to dictate his *Testamentum*, a statement more of will than of exhortation, that his friars hold fast to ideals that seemed increasingly compromised by the exigencies of the institutionalisation of his order.⁴ After his death, the leadership of the order managed to persuade Pope Gregory IX to declare this document non-binding.⁵

The tension created by Francis's idealism was to threaten to tear the order apart in the thirteenth century. Yet Francis also bequeathed positive ideals that would endure and affect the pastoral care of the laity. Francis was not out of touch with practicalities, for he was closely connected with the prevailing currents of devotion in his day, and where the Friars Minor proved most successful was in adopting, popularising and directing existing trends and, like synchronised sound waves, increasing them through resonance.⁶

Some of these common themes, such as the preaching of repentance, the Apostolic Life, the renewed emphasis on the earthly life and death of Jesus and Mary, and the imitation of Christ were naturally shared by the Dominicans, being important features of the religious landscape of the day. However, it is possible – if perhaps

¹ *EEFP*, 279, 332; S. Tugwell, 'Second Distinction', 128-31; Vicaire, *Dominic*, 178, 197.

² R. Brooke, however, has argued that Dominic was not as dull as Jordan of Saxony made him appear: *Coming of the Friars*, 100-04.

³ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 51-59.

⁴ Francis of Assisi, 'Testament', in R.J. Armstrong *et. al.*, ed., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, Volume I: The Saint* (London, 1999), 124-27; discussed in Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 77-79.

⁵ In his bull *Quo elongati* of 1230: *Bull. Fr.* I, 68-70.

⁶ R. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), 38, 48-88; Rivi, *Francis and the Laity*, v.

deceptive because of the apparent ease – to distinguish some particularly Franciscan emphases traceable to Francis himself.¹ If one were to assign a single scriptural verse to Francis, it would be I Corinthians 11:1, 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.'² Beyond Francis's strong views on hierarchy, requiring that his followers imitate him, he also fostered imitation of the earthly life of Christ, showing the way himself. This is closely connected not only with aspects of the *Vita Apostolica* but also with devotion to the Incarnation of Christ. This theme was common in Franciscan theology³ and especially hagiography;⁴ examples could be multiplied almost endlessly for the Franciscan order, but are comparatively scarce in thirteenth-century Dominican sources.⁵

Like political parties, the mendicant orders maintained party lines.⁶ Determining the differences between the Preachers and Minors in their pastoral care as might have been observed by contemporaries is no simple task, however, and much more work remains to be done on both orders to clarify the picture. First, the orders were not monolithic, so when different emphases of the orders are discussed below, they must be understood as tendencies within heterogeneous movements. Furthermore, those areas of divergence that have attracted the most scholarly attention have been in high theology and philosophy or over certain aspects of poverty. One might be forgiven for wondering how much impact such issues had on laypeople being preached to, catechised, or shriven by a friar. For such practical information, academic theological writings will not be the best of

¹ Bert Roest has suggested that there was no distinctly Franciscan spirituality and that what we know as such was no more than the sum of the Cistercian and Victorine legacies. (Comments in roundtable discussion 'Monks and Mendicants: A Clash of Cultures?', 12 July 2004, International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds.) For the purposes of the history of pastoral care, however, origins of ideas are less important than the questions of when, where, how, and by whom doctrines and devotions were spread among the laity.

² 'Imitatores mei estote sicut et ego Christi', as Jerome rendered it.

³ E.g. Bonaventure, *Opera* V, 532.

⁴ E.g. P. Sabatier, *Le Speculum Perfectionis* (Manchester, in 2 vols., 1928, 1931), I, 212, 217.

⁵ For some Dominican examples, however, see K. Emery and J. Wawrykow, ed., *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), *passim*.

⁶ P. Biller, 'Marriage Patterns and Women's Lives: A Sketch of a Pastoral Geography', in P.J.P. Goldberg, ed., *Woman is a Worthy Wight* (Stroud, Gloucester, 1992), 60-107, at 63.

guides. When possible we will do better to consult the pastoral manuals and similar writings that circulated within the orders. These documents, and the living milieux in which they originated, will show different ‘party lines’ in the orders regarding pastoral care, as indeed they both changed and reinforced these stances. The Franciscan and Dominican orders must have borne comparison to political parties in another respect accentuating their different ideologies and priorities, namely that they would attract to membership primarily those who were already in agreement, while those who were otherwise inclined would join a different order.

What follows must be brief and selective account of the pastoral ministry of the friars. Even needs for additional study on particular questions are too numerous to list comprehensively. If these chapters articulate a skeleton of perspective, they will have served their purpose.

To set the scene, chapter 2 considers the arrival of the friars in the British Isles and their subsequent spread. In order to analyse our sources to find the differences between Franciscan and Dominican pastoral care, the orders will be compared and contrasted in four categories, paralleling the study above of parish clergy: education and formation (chapter 3), preaching (chapter 4), the sacraments (chapter 5) and confession (chapter 6). Because the friars differed from parish clergy more than they did from one another, similarities between the orders will be noted first. In chapter 7, the pastoral contributions of the smaller orders of friars – the Carmelites and Austins – will be considered, and in chapter 8 the contributions of the Canons Regular and monks will be assessed.

II.2: The Arrival of the Friars in England

The 1221 General Chapter of the Dominican order dispatched a convent of thirteen brethren – one over the minimum number for a canonical community – to England. They arrived early August of that year, probably on the 5th, the day before Dominic's death.¹ The fourteenth-century English Dominican chronicler Nicholas Trivet tells us that they were accompanied to Canterbury by Peter des Roches, the bishop of Winchester who had stayed by King John's side throughout the interdict, and presented by him to Archbishop Langton. Hearing that they were called preachers, Langton directed their leader, Gilbert of Fresney, to preach in his stead in a church that very day; finding himself so edified by Gilbert's sermon, Trivet modestly tells us, the archbishop retained his approval for their order throughout his life.²

The friars passed from Canterbury via London to Oxford, reaching it on 15 August.³ There they had copious success in attracting learned men and promising adolescents into their order, enough to found a house in London by 1224⁴ followed by ones at Norwich in 1226 and York in 1227.⁵

We are fortunate in having an earlier and more detailed account of the arrival of the Minorites, the *De adventu fratrum minorum in Anglie* of Thomas 'of Eccleston', completed *circa* 1258-59.⁶ While (unlike Trivet) he is sparing with dates, other sources have enabled historians to construct a temporal framework for much of Thomas's narrative, of which Little wrote, 'In nearly all statements of fact relating to English affairs, Brother Thomas may be trusted without reserve.'⁷

¹ *EEFP*, 2.

² Trivet, *Annales*, 209; *EEFP*, 365, 442.

³ Trivet, *Annales*, 209.

⁴ *MRH*, 217, notes reports that three friars were sent to London in 1221: see below.

⁵ For the most up-to-date data on Dominican house foundations, see O'Carroll, *Studies*, 59.

⁶ *De Adventu*, xxii.

⁷ *De Adventu*, xxv.

Thomas had been collecting material since about 1232-33, less than a decade since the earliest events recorded. Franciscans first arrived in Britain at Dover on 10 September 1224 under the leadership of Agnellus of Pisa.¹ They were only nine in number, four clerics and five laymen. Three of the clerics, including the only priest, and none of the laybrothers were English. Like the Dominicans, they went directly to Canterbury, where they must have been approved by some official.²

Not constrained by a minimum community size, the group split: four (including two English clerics) set off for London, while the rest settled in a local priests'-hospice, part of which housed the Canterbury convent until 1268.³ The friars who arrived in London stayed with the Dominicans for fifteen days until they acquired their own lodgings.⁴ Before the year was out, the two English clerical friars set off for Oxford, where again the Dominicans hosted them until they found lodgings;⁵ presumably this reflected successful recruitment in London.⁶ Within four months, the Franciscans had settled in the ecclesiastical, civil and intellectual centres of the kingdom.⁷

The first settlement patterns reflect fundamental differences between the orders, especially in the early years. The Dominicans, technically Augustinian Canons under extra constitutions, needed twelve brothers to establish a convent.⁸ Although they travelled in pairs in their Apostolic activity, they also maintained the common life

¹ *De Adventu*, 3.

² *De Adventu*, 3-6; C&S II, 33-34. Langton's whereabouts in September are unknown. *Acta Stephani Langton*, 167.

³ MRH, 224; C. Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury* (Manchester, 1924).

⁴ C. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), 15; *De Adventu*, 9.

⁵ *De Adventu*, 9.

⁶ It is uncertain that either of the laybrothers (Henry and Melioratus) knew enough English or French to beg. Further, Fr. Thomas listed novices who joined the order, apparently in chronological order. The first was one Thomas, at the Canterbury convent; the next four were Londoners (a Latinate layman, two clerics, and a priest); then university men, most of whom appear to have been recruited at Oxford. *De Adventu*, 12-18. This neatly follows the sequence of settlements; whether it actually reflects recruitment at each settlement before friars set off for another site or is Thomas's deliberate parallel construction cannot be ascertained.

⁷ D. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln, NB, 1975), 169.

⁸ 'Constitutiones OP', 221.

of canons regular, and so preferred larger convents.¹ Early Franciscans had no such intentions of stability or canonical observance and tended to break off into small groups. Although this practice later changed, it allowed for rapid dissemination of Franciscans in these early years.

At least some of this may be an evidential illusion, however.² Knowles noted reports that three Dominicans were sent to London in 1221;³ the 1224 dating thus reflects the official foundation, when the number of a dozen enabled the General Chapter to grant official recognition. In these early years on the continent this was a common pattern for founding houses,⁴ so friars were pastorally active in a locality for some time before the official foundation date; the manner of Eccleston's and Trivet's reporting may have respectively revealed and obscured this pattern in England. Nonetheless, an established convent after 1220 probably would not drop its numbers below twelve to send friars out to found another house. If three Dominicans were sent to London in 1221, the Oxford convent had already succeeded in recruiting at least two new members. This chapter of the Constitutions, which also required a convent to have a lector,⁵ would have a crucial damping effect on the multiplication of Dominican houses.

By 1235, when the Franciscans founded their twenty-fourth convent, the Dominicans only had ten.⁶ The greater distribution of Franciscan influence even at the end of the century can be seen by mapping the location of the priories of the four main mendicant orders

¹ *EEFP*, 275.

² On the problems of dating the foundations of mendicant houses, see K.J. Egan, 'Dating English Carmelite Foundations', *CiB* I 120-42.

³ *MRH*, 217.

⁴ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 187 *et seqq.*, *passim*. Vicaire also notes that, in the same year, only five brethren were dispatched to Hungary. He goes so far as to doubt Trivet's claim that thirteen were sent to Oxford on the grounds that the minimum number of twelve was a later addition to the constitutions (526). Tugwell, however, has since dated the relevant section of the constitutions (Dist. II c. 23a) to 1220 and argues that the wording of Jordan of Saxony's contemporary report of the 1221 General Chapter makes clear reference to the group sent to England as a 'convent' in keeping with the Constitutions as they then stood: Tugwell, 'Second Distinction', 112-16.

⁵ Tugwell dates this as well to 1220: 'Second Distinction', 112-16.

⁶ M. O'Carroll, 'Grosseteste, the English Friars and Lateran IV', in O'Carroll, *Grosseteste*, 319-37, at 324 (Dominicans) and 325 (Franciscans).

(see map A), which shows not only that the Franciscans had more convents – and therefore, by one estimate, 2,420 brothers in England in 1300 as opposed to 1,887 Preachers¹ – but also that there was not a single town in England in 1300 with two or more friaries of the four main mendicant orders where one of those was not Franciscan. The same differential growth rate can be seen in France and Hungary.²

Plotting the spread of convents on a map (see maps B and C) reveals a further difference in settlement patterns: from the start, the Franciscans tended to keep their houses close to one another, while the Dominicans intentionally dispersed themselves widely.³ The first six Franciscan convents, settled in 1224-26, were a horseshoe curve: Canterbury, London and Oxford (1224), Northampton (1225), and Cambridge and Norwich (1226). The furthest distance between any two in the chain, as the crow flies, was fifty-eight miles between Cambridge and Norwich, but these were both close to the Icknield Way (the Greenway), facilitating travel. In 1233 a convent settlement was attempted at Bury, which would have provided a convenient way-station roughly halfway in between, but the opposition of the monks of the abbey there prevented a stable settlement for another thirty years.⁴ London and Canterbury were likewise connected directly by Watling Street, part of the Roman road network. This ring was followed by a cluster further west, Worcester, Hereford, Bristol and Gloucester (1227-34), which were joined by another arc (Coventry, Leicester, Stamford, King's Lynn) to Norwich by about 1230, none above forty miles from another and most rather closer. By 1232 this

¹ Moorman, *Church Life*, 411. Hinnebusch estimated that in the first quarter of the fourteenth century there were on average 1795 Dominicans in England (*EEFP*, 274-75), while Little calculated an average of 1900 Franciscans in the period 1289-1339: Little, *Studies*, 69-71.

² R.W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France* (London, 1962), 3; E. Fugedi, 'La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie', *Annales É. S. C.* 25 (1970), 966-73. See also C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars* (London, 1994), 103-4.

³ I have used the maps and dates from O'Carroll, *Grosseteste*, 324-25. At least twenty of the Franciscan convents' foundation dates (but none of the Dominican ones) reflect the first mention of a convent which may be years older. However, unless further evidence comes to light to demonstrate earlier dates, these first-mention dates must be treated as if they were foundation dates.

⁴ *MRH*, 224; *Annales Monastici* III, 134; Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 219.

outer orbit also included Salisbury and Chichester, bringing to six the number of cathedral cities settled by the Franciscans.¹

The Franciscans then aimed north. Around 1230 they settled at Lincoln and York, pressing further north in the next three years to Carlisle, Roxburgh and Berwick-upon-Tweed. All of these were along the Roman Ermine Street (except Berwick, downstream of Roxburgh by the Teviot and the Tweed). By 1239 these were joined by a settlement at Durham which apparently decamped to Hartlepool.² The two concentric rings and the northern arm are so orderly as to suggest deliberate planning.

Settlement in the decade 1235-45 again follows a pattern. In 1234 Franciscan convents were almost invariably settled inland, despite water travel being much more efficient, provided that either a captain would transport them charitably or their passage would be paid by others, as the monks of Fécamp had done to send the first Franciscans to England. Ipswich and Colchester on the east coast housed Franciscans by 1237, towns on or near the south coast were settled from Romney to Exeter, and five convents settled on the north-east coast from Boston up to Haddington, east of Edinburgh. A strung-out cluster of houses cut diagonally across the earlier concentric arcs, running from Ipswich and Colchester to coastal Llanfaes, the first Franciscan house in Wales (1245).

There was an apparent hiatus in Franciscan settlement from 1245 to around 1257-58, when Richmond was settled. It is possible that the Minorites, carried on by momentum, had overreached their numbers: some dozen houses had been settled in 1240-45 alone. There may not have been so much of a gap in fact, however. Friar Thomas tells us in his chronicle that in 1256 there were 44 convents in the English province totalling 1,242 Friars Minor:³ using Little's dates, repeated by O'Carroll,⁴ leaves five houses unaccounted for, and

¹ *MRH*, 224, improves on Little's date of 'by 1243' copied by O'Carroll, *Grosseteste*, 324-25.

² *MRH*, 221, 225.

³ *De Adventu*, 11. One manuscript gives 49, not 44.

⁴ O'Carroll, *Grosseteste*, 324-25; Little, *Papers*, 217-29.

most of those listed after 1257 are dates of first mention, not known foundation. A.G. Little suggested Bodmin, Boston, Dorchester, Preston and Yarmouth, but these are conjectural.¹ If Thomas's figure was accurate, only eleven Franciscan convents were established between 1256 and 1300.² The list of later, or possibly later, settlements shows expansion in highly populated areas – up to five in Norwich diocese and neighbouring parts of Lincoln diocese –, settlements along roads between other convents (Dorchester, Doncaster, Richmond), and new convents in more remote areas (Bodmin in Cornwall, Cardiff and Carmarthen in Wales, Preston in West Yorkshire, Dumfries and Dundee in Scotland).³ Clearly, by 1256, and possibly by 1245, we may say that Great Britain was approaching the saturation point for Franciscan settlements. If Moorman's estimate of 2,420 Franciscans in England and Wales around 1300 is accurate, the order would nearly double in membership between 1256 and the end of the century; even Little's more conservative estimate of 1,900 shows a 61% increase in manpower distributed over a 25% increase in the number of convents.⁴ The average population of Franciscan convents was on the rise.

The Dominicans' settlement pattern was diametrically opposite, aiming at diffusing their pastoral care more widely. Statistical comparisons are complicated because the Dominicans had a three-year head start but never settled in as many locations; however, several impressions can be gained by comparing maps and lists. Both orders settled in remote Carlisle in 1233, but comparing the sequences of convent foundation instead of the years, it was the Dominicans' eighth or ninth house and about the twentieth for the Franciscans. Exeter was inhabited in 1232 by the Dominicans, their

¹ *De Adventu*, 11n.

² Moving the foundation near Bury from 1233 to after 1256 and subtracting Romney, which failed circa 1287: *MRH*, 226.

³ Scottish houses north of the Forth are not included on O'Carroll's map. These are the dates given by W.M. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* vol. I (Edinburgh, 1909), 199, 219.

⁴ Moorman, *Church Life*, 411; Little's figure was an average for the period 1289-1339: Little, *Studies*, 69-71

sixth or seventh convent; the Franciscans did not get so far southwest until perhaps as late as 1240, when they already had around thirty other houses, mostly clustered in the midlands. Although both orders settled Norwich in 1226, the Franciscans' nearest neighbour then was Cambridge, 58 miles west; the nearest Dominican priory was London, 100 miles as the crow flies, around 125 miles by major roads. The closest pair of Dominican priories founded before 1234 were Oxford and Northampton, only around thirty-five miles apart, but Oxford was the first and Northampton the penultimate or last house founded in this period, and Northampton was already a seat of learning where the Dominicans could both study and recruit.¹ As with the Franciscans, the Dominicans' settlement pattern suggests deliberate planning, but a very different plan.

Dominican foundations from 1235-1245 mostly filled voids in the settlement pattern, again aiming at greater distances between houses than seen on the Franciscan map. With fewer houses being founded (twelve Dominican convents versus around twenty Franciscan ones) in the same amount of land, the average distance is greater as a matter of mathematical necessity; but what is striking is that the actual distances are so close to the average ones. It is as if Dominican settlement locations were determined by consciously searching out a void and placing a priory as far as possible from all neighbouring priories. Much the same could be said of the foundations from 1246 to 1260, which also saw three further priories in Wales (Cardiff having been settled in 1242) and one in Cornwall, Truro. During this latter period the Dominicans surpassed the Franciscans in the rate of multiplication of convents, settling in twelve towns as compared to perhaps half as many.

The years from 1260 to that of the last Dominican settlement of the century – Boston, 1288 – show dispersal (Lancaster, Yarm, Brecon)

¹ On Northampton as a scholars' town, see III.3.

but also some much closer foundations: Chichester (1278)¹ is not ten miles from Arundel; Ipswich (1263) is eighteen miles from Sudbury, Yarmouth (1267) the same distance from Norwich. This phase of Dominican settlement differed in that the friars had already settled almost all parts of the country; now they turned to the remaining towns that were able to support them and provide sermon audiences. With this progression of increasingly close settlement, the pastoral hinterlands of Dominican convents shrank – or perhaps met for the first time – and the potential for coverage of the countryside within each became correspondingly denser.

All of this should be kept in mind in two ways: first, the progress of the foundation of convents of each of the mendicant orders allows us to consider the spread of what was particularly important to each order; second, the fuller map of the growth of all the mendicant orders will suggest the distribution of those aspects of pastoral care common to all.

The Black and Grey Friars did have one significant similarity in their settlement patterns, however: they both settled in, or immediately outside, towns. This both reflected a geography of the perceived need for pastoral care and inevitably shaped the future geography of pastoral provision. There are two well-known mendicant explanations for aiming at the towns, one Franciscan and the other Dominican.² Taken together, their main rationale is the greater ease of gathering an audience for a sermon, for preaching to a large audience is more efficient than preaching to a small gathering.

Determination of what towns would receive convents was actually the result of a mixture between the expansion plans of the friars and, necessarily, the support of the laity and churchmen who made mendicant life possible. We can see both forces reflected in the historical record. Friars were invited to settle in certain locales, and sometimes the inviters had to wait for some time until a sufficient

¹ Apparently misprinted in O'Carroll as 1288, which would put it out of chronological order. *MRH*, 214 gives *ante* 1280.

² These are discussed well in D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), 30-31.

number of friars could be raised. Bishop Peter des Roches attempted to found a Dominican convent at Portsmouth in 1225, without success; the reason for the failure is unclear, but given the early date, insufficiency of friars may well have been a contributing reason.¹ Likewise, some settlements attempted by the friars failed for lack of support or, probably more commonly, from the opposition of vested clerical interests. The monks of St. Edmund's Abbey prevented a Franciscan settlement at Bury for a generation, and the apparent migration of the Franciscans of Durham to Hartlepool in 1239 was probably a result of ecclesiastical opposition or insufficient material support. We may surmise that other failed attempts are mentioned in no extant historical record.²

The mendicant orders themselves had agreed boundaries for pastoral work and for begging. How far mendicants might travel from their houses in questing for alms and caring for souls is suggested by the French case of the Dominicans of Auxerre: when a new Dominican house was founded some distance away and the districts of the surrounding houses had to be redrawn, the Preachers of Auxerre were limited to four leagues in one direction and six in another, suggesting that of their own accord they had previously surpassed these limits, and without restriction would have continued to do so.³ No English records seem to remain, but it is likely that they followed existing boundaries. At various times in the thirteenth century, friars needed to be licensed by bishops to care for souls in their dioceses, and so their pastoral boundaries would not often have crossed diocesan boundaries. A friar at King's Lynn in Norwich diocese could easily walk to Ely diocese, preach a sermon, and return to his convent by nightfall, but it is likely that the pastoral limits of both the Franciscan and Dominican convents at Cambridge – the only ones in the diocese –

¹ *EEFP*, 107-08.

² For example, Little printed a charter of ca. 1250 referring to an otherwise unknown Franciscan house at 'Wluerenston': *Papers*, 228-29. On the process of settlement, see also *EEFP*; *De Adventu*, 20-24; *Chron. Maj.* III, 332-34.

³ M.-D. Chapotin, *Les Dominicains d'Auxerre* (Paris, 1892), 47-49.

were coterminous with the diocese itself. On the other hand, since some bishops were clearly keen to attract the friars to their dioceses, they may have welcomed incursions. Peter des Roches attempted to found a Dominican convent in Portsmouth, as we have just seen, and they did settle in his cathedral city at Winchester by 1235:¹ he was probably supportive of London Dominicans crossing the diocesan boundary, the Thames, on the north bank of which they dwelt, to minister in Southwark and other areas.² A deanery in the northern suburbs of Gloucester, surrounded by the diocese of Worcester, was a peculiar of York diocese;³ the Carmelite house was apparently in the peculiar⁴ while the Franciscans and Dominicans were in Worcester diocese,⁵ but there is no reason to imagine that they did not cross these boundaries. Further examples of this kind will be discussed in the chapters on individual dioceses in Part III of this thesis.

¹ *EEFP*, 107-08.

² On the London Dominican priory, see *EEFP*, 20-55.

³ *VCH Gloucester* II, 48.

⁴ *Reg. W. Giffard*, 92-93.

⁵ *MRH*, 216, 225, 235.

II.3: The Formation and Education of Friars

Both Franciscans and Dominicans, as we have just seen, settled in Oxford shortly after arriving in England; both also found this fertile ground for recruits. In the winter of 1229-30, Jordan of Saxony, Master-General of the Dominican order, visited the house at Oxford and preached to a university audience on 11 November. His sermon included the following exhortation:

to be perfect, as the clergy ought to be since they are elected to the portion of God, good conscience born of charity does not suffice. Rather, it is proper that one should attract others to good deeds through holy behaviour and a good example; and this is especially appropriate for parish priests.¹

Perhaps Friar Jordan intended his preaching as an example of *sanctam conversationem* that *alios attrahant ad bene faciendum* in the form of joining the Order of Preachers and putting their education, paid for by the tithes of the poor, to better use than furthering their academic careers – which the preacher compared to the devil’s tempting Jesus at the pinnacle of the temple.² This was a recruiting sermon, and we know that Jordan was actively recruiting in his time at Oxford.³

One of Jordan’s acquaintances during his sojourn in Oxford was Robert Grosseteste, who around this time became lector to the Oxford Franciscans.⁴ Francis had had reservations about his friars becoming learned.⁵ Moorman, in fact, believed that Grosseteste’s influence in

¹ ‘[P]erfectis enim, quales debent esse clerici, quia ad sortem dei electi, non sufficit bona conscientia que habetur per caritatem sed oportet quod alios attrahant ad bene faciendum per sanctam conversationem et bonum exemplum, et hoc maxime convenit prelatis.’ ‘Sermons of Jordan of Saxony’, quoting editors at 4 and Jordan at 10. Note that these sermon texts are *reportationes* (a listener’s notes) rather than Jordan’s own text. *Prelati*, which I have here translated ‘parish priests’, did not necessarily mean only the highest churchmen: Peter the Chanter equated ‘praelatus’ with ‘ruralis sacerdos’: *Verbum Adbreviatum*, 361. Presumably both men referred to rectors.

² ‘Sermons of Jordan of Saxony’, 12; Matthew 4:5-7.

³ *EEFP*, 264; on early Dominican recruitment in England, see 260-71.

⁴ *De Adventu*, 48; A.G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1891), 29-30; J. Goering, ‘When and Where’; S. Gieben, ‘Robert Grosseteste and the Evolution of the Franciscan Order’, in J. McEvoy, ed., *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives* (Turnhout, 1995), 215-32; *Epist. Grosseteste* 131-33.

⁵ R. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), 126; N. Şenocak, ‘“The Letter Kills, but the Spirit Gives Life”: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1310’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, 2001), 19-43.

academicising the Franciscan order ‘rather ruined’ it, prompting Servus Gieben (himself a scholarly Franciscan) to write a more balanced rejoinder.¹ It is generally agreed that Grosseteste’s influence on English Franciscans ‘must have been’ substantial, though the precise nature of that influence remains to be discerned. Nonetheless, we have Friar Thomas’s contemporary word that ‘under him, within a brief time, they made inestimable progress both in academic arguments and in subtle moralities suitable for preaching’,² and the content of some of Grosseteste’s lectures may be preserved in his treatise on Galatians.³ It has been suggested that his Anglo-Norman *chanson* on creation, fall and redemption, *Le Château d’Amour*, was written for the education of the Franciscan laybrothers of the Oxford convent.⁴

The timing of Jordan’s visit and Grosseteste’s enlistment was more than coincidence. A violent town-gown dispute at Paris in the spring of 1229 had resulted in the University being temporarily disbanded and its scholars migrating to other locales; Oxford was an obvious goal for many British scholars, and Friar Thomas records that during this dispersal several English scholars who had joined the Franciscan order at Paris made their way to Oxford.⁵ It is natural that they would then seek a teacher. Thomas himself, then a secular studying at Paris, was probably part of this dispersal and joined the Franciscans at Oxford around 1230.⁶ Jordan typically spent Lent preaching and recruiting at Bologna or Paris; this visit to England’s chief university town was following the academic herd, and presumably he stayed to preach at Oxford in Lent 1230.⁷ These

¹ S. Gieben, ‘Grosseteste and the Franciscans’, 215-32; Moorman, *Church Life*, 382.

² ‘Sub quo inestimabiliter infra breve tempus tam in quæstionibus quam prædicationi congruis subtilibus moralitatibus profecerunt.’ *De Adventu*, 48.

³ Ed. in J. McEvoy, *Opera Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis* (Turnhout, 1995), 6-8, 41-175.

⁴ E. Mackie, ‘Robert Grosseteste’s Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Loss and Restoration of Creation, Commonly Known as *Le Château d’Amour*’, in O’Carroll, *Grosseteste*, 151-79, at 155-56.

⁵ *Chron. Maj.* III, 166-69; *De Adventu*, 27-33. Cambridge seems to have received ‘a great influx of scholars both from England and abroad’ at this time as well: Little, *Papers*, 124. These would not have been theology students, for there was no theology faculty at Cambridge at this time: *ibid.* 122-43.

⁶ *BRUO*, 623-24.

⁷ *EEFP*, 264; ‘Sermons of Jordan of Saxony’, 5.

circumstances would breed competition in recruitment, and Grosseteste's invitation to teach the Franciscans should probably be seen in this light. Grosseteste was not (as previously thought) an established theologian at his appointment; rather than his making professional theologians of the Franciscans (as Moorman had it), accepting Agnellus's invitation obliged him to write lectures, whereby the Franciscans made a professional theologian of him.¹

As Jordan of Saxony suggested in his Oxford sermon, the Friars Preachers had a clear idea of the purposes of study, which he also apparently hoped would be adopted by listeners who did not join his order. The prologue to the Dominican Constitutions of 1220 put it thus:

Our order is recognized to have been instituted from the beginning especially for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our study² ought to aim principally and ardently at this, the highest task: that we should be able to be useful to the souls of our neighbours.³

Robert Kilwardby OP, Oxford scholar, English Provincial Prior and future archbishop of Canterbury, described the purpose of Dominican education as 'to prepare persons and fit them for the salvation of souls; and, those prepared being fit both in life and in knowledge, to appoint them to the conversion of sinners.'⁴ The standard of the Constitutions was to be reiterated constantly throughout the thirteenth century.⁵

Among the Franciscans the same ethos prevailed.⁶ Grosseteste is well known for his uncompromising insistence on the primacy of the

¹ Goering, 'When and Where'; J. Ginther, 'Natural Philosophy and Theology at Oxford in the Early Thirteenth Century: An Edition and Study of Robert Grosseteste's Inception Sermon', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 44 (2000), 108-34.

² Tugwell translates 'studium' as 'concern' in *Dominican Writings*. However, a few lines above Dominic used it unequivocally in the pedagogical sense (and Tugwell translated it there as 'study'). The connexion between study and utility to souls is clearly implied.

³ '[O]rdo noster specialiter ob predicationem et animarum salutem ab initio noscatur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc principaliter ardentius summo opere debeat intendere, ut proximorum animabus possimus utilis esse.' 'Constitutiones OP,' 194; this passage as dated by M. Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study* (Toronto, 1998), 3.

⁴ '...personas preparare et in salutem animarum habilitare et preparatas atque vita et scientia habilitatas ad peccatorum conversionem destinare.' As quoted by Pecham, *Tractatus Tres*, 128.

⁵ Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 57-67 and *passim*.

⁶ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000), 3, 123.

care of souls,¹ and this attitude – though perhaps still inchoate – may have recommended him to Agnellus of Pisa. While studying and teaching in arts, Grosseteste was pursuing theology in order to write practical manuals for confessors.² Roger Bacon considered Adam Marsh a great philosopher, yet Marsh's letters reveal a profound solicitude for the care of souls.³ When the Franciscan John Pecham, like Kilwardby a scholar, English Provincial Minister of his order and future archbishop of Canterbury, was sparring with Kilwardby over the relative merits of their orders, Pecham, far from disagreeing with the Dominican's statement quoted above, only countered that the Dominicans' allegedly laxer observance of poverty made this hypocritical.⁴ As archbishop, Pecham was to write that 'nothing in this world is more precious than the care of souls, since for this alone Christ offered His very Self on the Cross.'⁵

In the first third of the thirteenth century, Oxford had a native tradition of learning that was not entirely dependent on Paris.⁶ Although the English scholastic enterprise retained some distinctive features, it was drawn more and more into the orbit of Paris for theology and Bologna for law. Both Preachers and Minorites made Paris the hub of their educational systems and constructed spokes that directed the energy of Parisian pastoral theology and Bolognese pastoral law to the brothers who preached to and shrove the laity. D'Avray has shown that Paris was a centre of sermon distribution.⁷ It was at Paris that daily lectures on the Bible began to be displaced by ones on Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences on Scripture*, in

¹ L. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care', printed as article I in Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law* (London, 1981).

² Goering, 'When and Where'.

³ '...frater Adam de Marisco, quia hi fuerunt perfecti in omni sapientia, et nunquam fuerunt plures perfecti in philosophia.' R. Bacon, *Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita*, ed. J.S. Brewer (RS, 1859), 70. Bacon had a different view on the relationship of study to preaching, but he was hardly a typical friar: *op. cit.* 82-83, 226-28, 303-10, 425-29. For Marsh's letters, *Monumenta Franciscana*, 75-489.

⁴ *Tractatus Tres*, 128-29.

⁵ '[C]ura animarum nichil sit pretiosius in hoc mundo, cum pro hac sola Christus in cruce optulerit semetipsum'. *C&S II*, 1078.

⁶ B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (2nd revised edn.: Oxford, 1952), 316-26. Grosseteste is one well-explored case: R. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1992).

⁷ D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985).

which it was followed by Oxford.¹ The Paris Dominican Hugh of St-Cher's *Postillae in totam Bibliam* were designed as a useful handbook for conventual lectors and for sermon composition; it quoted Paris scholars often, especially Stephen Langton.² Robert Bacon had probably studied in Paris before joining the Dominicans as a regent master in theology at Oxford; he lectured to the Oxford Dominicans for several years, and the English Dominican scholar Richard Fishacre incepted under him.³ Among Franciscans, Richard Rufus of Cornwall (the first Oxford Franciscan lector to teach on the *Sentences*) bounced back and forth between Paris and Oxford, John Duns Scotus did the same with a spell in Cambridge, and Roger Marston went from Paris to Cambridge to Oxford.⁴ The learning of Raymund of Peñafort, a Bolognese doctor of canon law who joined the Dominicans, had a substantial impact on pastoral care in England in the thirteenth century: his canonical work on the sacrament of penance, the *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*, was officially-sanctioned reading material in the Dominican order and was also used by Franciscans.⁵

The precise mechanisms of mendicant educational systems in between the *studia generalia* – the scholarly university convents – and the convent schools themselves have been surveyed well elsewhere of late⁶ and are not of primary concern for our purposes, other than to

¹ J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 2000), 160-71; Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 126-27; B. Smalley, 'Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford', *TRHS* 4th s. 30 (1948), 1-19, at 12-14.

² Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 486-88. A copy of the postills on the Psalms was bequeathed in 1266-67 for the use of the Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter: K.W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries* (London, 1990), 210-11. This bequest included other Parisian works (nos. 8-10, 12b, and 13). A thirteenth-century manuscript of the postills on Luke, and one of unknown date on Isaiah, belonged at some point to the Cambridge Franciscans: H.M. Bannister, 'A Short Notice of some Manuscripts of the Cambridge Friars, Now in the Vatican Library', in A.G. Little *et al.*, ed., *Collectanea Franciscana I* (Aberdeen, 1914), 124-140, at 126-27. Other thirteenth-century copies of this and many other Parisian works are known to have been owned by mendicant convents, but very seldom can they be shown certainly to have been in mendicant hands in the thirteenth century, which makes the Exeter record particularly important.

³ B. Smalley, 'Robert Bacon', 8; Trivet, *Annales*, 229-30; *Chron. Maj.* IV, 244.

⁴ Moorman, *A History*, 244, 254, 251; *BRUO*, 1604-05; 607-10; 1230-31.

⁵ *EEFP*, 335; for use by a Franciscan author, *Fasciculus Morum* in index s v. 'Raymundus'. Further discussion will be given below in II.6.

⁶ For the Franciscans, B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000); for the Dominicans, Mulchahey, *First the Bow*; O'Carroll, *Studies*, 35-74; and M. O'Carroll, 'The Educational Organisation of the Dominicans in England and Wales, 1221-1348', *AFP* 50 (1980), 23-62. There is

note that they were carefully designed to direct the latest theology from the mind of the doctor in the *studium generale* to the lips of the preacher in the square. The whole of the mendicant educational system above the convent level was designed entirely for the benefit of education at the convent level: the various levels of schools addressed themselves to training conventual lectors, training those who in turn trained conventual lectors, and so on up the ladder.

A. The Noviciate

A friar was a whole man to be formed, not just a mind to be filled, and he was seen as such by those in the orders who prepared new friars for mendicant pastoral life.

The idea of a noviciate was at least as old as Benedict's rule and was considered an indispensable part of any religious order.¹ In addition to spiritual formation, it also allowed the order to test the postulant and the postulant to test his or her vocation and become acclimated to the rigours of regular life.²

Dominic seems to have written the chapter of the Dominican Constitutions concerning the novice-master in 1216.³ Most of the material in this chapter could be used by any religious order, as it focuses on teaching the novice submission, humility and other habits necessary for regular life. Towards the end, the chapter turns to study, but only insofar as the novice should be endued with a zeal for study, memorising and reading, and for the careful handling of books: the year was spent preparing the ground for the study which would occupy the friar for the rest of his life. Novices were to be taught 'how fervent they ought to be in preaching at the right time.'⁴ This could best be taught by exposing them to frequent sermons, which would

also older useful material relevant to the English province in particular, for which see the works cited here.

¹ D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England I* (Cambridge, 1960), 285-86.

² W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. I (New York, 1966), 292.

³ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 209; for the text, see 'Constitutiones OP', 201.

⁴ 'Qualiter ferventes in predicatione esse debeant tempore oportuno.' 'Constitutiones OP', 201.

also be part of the quotidian round for the rest of their lives.¹ Likewise, frequent confession to their novice-masters would give novices a clearer idea of how to hear the confessions of the laity in due course.

Because the Franciscans began as a lay movement, a noviciate was not part of Francis's plan. As the Friars Minor began to spread, however, this was recognised as a defect.² The Franciscan *Regula Bullata*, the Rule of 1223, gave this period as one year, though it gave no details beyond the novice's vesture.³ However, after Francis's death his order both became more clerical and began accepting adolescents; for a time, the noviciate was a period of theological instruction to catch the younger postulants up with their more experienced peers.⁴ Novice masters first appeared around 1240, along with a programme devoted to 'personal transformation ... gearing the novices towards poverty, humility, obedience, self-negation, and the love of God' rather than education *per se*.⁵ By 1260, the Constitutions of Narbonne would forbid engaging in study or assigning books of study to novices: they were only to read 'writings of edification.'⁶

Both orders' noviciate programmes included the reading of spiritual classics as part of religious formation, in which they resembled monastic noviciates.⁷ Much of this material originated among monks or canons regular, particularly the Cistercians and Victorines, but both orders added material specific to themselves, such as Humbert of Romans' and Bonaventure's respective 'Instructions for Novices'.⁸

¹ D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), 35. On Dominican novice-training, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 75-129, and Humbert, *Opera* II, 213-33.

² Little, *Religious Poverty*, 159; *Bull. Fr.* I, 6.

³ *Reg. Bull.* II.

⁴ Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 239.

⁵ Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 243-44, discussed further up to page 271.

⁶ 'in scripturis vero aedificationis'. Bonaventure, *Opera* VIII, 450-51. Unfortunately, this portion of the recently-discovered fragmentary earlier constitutions of the order is lacking. C. Cenci, ed., 'De Constitutionibus Praenarbonensibus', *AFH* 83 (1990), 50-95.

⁷ Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 248-50; Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 109-10.

⁸ Humbert, *Opera* II, 213-33; Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 101-14; Bonaventure, *Opera* VIII, 475-90; D. Monti, *St. Bonaventure's Works concerning the Franciscan Order* (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1994), 78n, 145-48.

B. Lectors and Lectures

From 1220, every Dominican convent required a lector, and one of the Preachers who arrived in England in 1221 was doubtless so qualified, though we know not his name. Humbert of Romans observed that many *bonae personae* never would have joined the Dominicans if they could not continue to study,¹ and the Preachers who set out for Oxford, a university town, surely knew that their recruiting success depended upon the teaching that they offered. Grosseteste's invitation to teach the Oxford Franciscans may reflect, in addition to competition in recruiting, pressures from students who had joined the order, and from that time we can trace the spread of lectors in Franciscan convents. By 1238 there were at least seven lectors spread among about twenty-eight convents, a proportion of twenty-five per cent; by 1256, the figures were thirty-four lectors among forty-nine convents, a proportion of sixty-nine percent; by 1300, nearly all the fifty-three houses had lectors.² The level of education among Franciscan *fratres communes* therefore rose during the century, though we should assume that a convent without a lector would include friars who had studied before joining the order or who had spent time since in a convent with a lector.

In both Dominican and Franciscan convents, the courses were geared towards producing and polishing pastors. On weekdays in the academic year, friars of both orders could expect to spend several hours in lectures, sermons and disputations, which replaced much of the manual work of monastic life.³ Individual study likewise took the place of monastic *lectio divina*. Although we have all too little knowledge of thirteenth-century mendicant libraries, extant evidence suggests that the collections were designed to support pastoral and

¹ Humbert, *Opera* II, 28.

² Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 83; *De Adventu*, 49-50.

³ The early Franciscans included many who worked with their hands, but this was steadily displaced, paralleling the clericalisation and growth of education in the order. D. Flood, 'Franciscans at Work', *Franciscan Studies* 59 (2001), 21-62.

theological education.¹ In the Dominican order, houses often included study cubicles.² The Dominicans reduced the liturgy to its bare bones to allow more time for study, and lectors and students could be dispensed from attending the lesser services and other duties to facilitate their work.³ The Franciscans were tempted to do the same, though Pecham strenuously upheld the *opus dei* among English Franciscans.⁴

The training of pastors required teaching friars both how to preach and how to hear confessions. Mendicant preaching, which will be explored in the next chapter, included both devotion and catechesis. Any of the instruction available in the convent, verbal (sermons, lectures, liturgy) and textual (theological, devotional and instructional works), was potential material for preaching. Roest has demonstrated that among the Friars Minor the 'rank and file lectors ... were responsible for a large percentage of the more sedentary theological output, such as elementary preaching handbooks'.⁵ Friar Thomas described Grosseteste's lectures as including 'subtle moralities suitable for preaching'.⁶ In Dominican convents, the lectures taught doctrine while other academic exercises taught moral theology.⁷ The constant round of sermons in the convent would

¹ Humbert, *Opera* II, 263-66; K.W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars* (Amsterdam, 1964); *idem*, ed., *The Friars' Libraries* (London, 1990); M.R. James, 'The Library of the Grey Friars of Hereford', and H.M. Bannister, 'A Short Notice of some Manuscripts of the Cambridge Friars, now in the Vatican Library', in A.G. Little *et al.*, ed., *Collectanea Franciscana I* (Aberdeen, 1914), 114-23 and 124-40, respectively; N.R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd edn., London, 1964), together with A.G. Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: Supplement to the Second Edition* (London, 1987); *EEFP*, 180-86. The sources used in works written by English friars are another window into the books to which they had access, though some of these may have been consulted at non-mendicant libraries. W.R. Jones, 'Franciscan Education and Monastic Libraries', *Traditio* 30 (1974), 435-45.

² *EEFP*, 164-76.

³ 'Constitutiones OP', 194.

⁴ B. Thompson, 'The Academic and Active Vocations in the Medieval Church: Archbishop Pecham', in C.M. Barron and J. Stratford, ed., *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society* (Donington, Lincolnshire, 2002), 1-24, at 8-9, 12.

⁵ Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 96-97. The Franciscan preaching handbook *Fasciculus Morum* apparently originated in a convent setting: Wenzel, *Verses*, 50. An exception was John of Wales, OFM, an academic high-flier who nonetheless focused his efforts on preaching manuals: J. Swanson, *John of Wales* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁶ *De Adventu*, 48.

⁷ Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 140-41; Humbert, *Opera* II, 254.

provide object lessons in preaching,¹ and friars seeking further guidance could turn to model sermon collections² and *artes predicandi*, instructional texts on preaching.³

The literature used and produced by mendicants to help the *fratres communes*, the common friars, in hearing confessions was extensive.⁴ Raymond of Peñaforte's *Summa de casibus penitentiae*, a canonical treatise on penance that first appeared in 1225, was a standard text in the Dominican order; it was one of the texts that Humbert of Romans recommended that every convent librarian keep in a readily accessible place. Another text in this list was Guillaume Peyraut's work on moral theology, the *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*.⁵ The use of Peñaforte's *Summa* in the convent classroom is suggested by a codex dating to 1260 x 1280, probably coming from the Dominican convent at Pontefract, which includes a forty-eight folio synopsis of Raymond's *Summa* along with other related material, arranged as a series of pastoral problems as if for classroom discussion.⁶

Little is known about the texts from which English Franciscans learned to hear confessions.⁷ However, as we saw earlier in this chapter, Grosseteste had written several manuals on confession before he began to teach the Franciscans, and by far the most popular of these, *Templum Dei*, was likely written by 1225.⁸ The Friars Minor were becoming a more clerical order at this time, enabling them to hear the confessions of the laity. It was the perfect time to enlist the services of someone who could teach them how to do so.

¹ Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 184.

² Humbert of Romans recommended that every convent should keep 'sermones varii de festis et dominicis per totum annum' in its reference section: *Opera* II, 265.

³ M. Briscoe, 'How was the *ars praedicandi* Taught in England?', *Studies in Medieval Culture* 31 (1992), 41-59 argues that *artes* were works to be consulted at need.

⁴ This will be surveyed below in II.6.

⁵ Humbert, *Opera* II, 265.

⁶ British Library Ms. Add. 30,508: Boyle, 'Notes', 259-63; Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 200-03.

⁷ See II.6 below.

⁸ J. Goering, 'When and Where', 29; *Templum*. For an English Franciscan's use of *Templum Dei*, see *Fasciculus Morum*, 356-61.

II.4: Mendicant Popular Preaching

We shall find several striking differences between the sort of preaching hypothesized of our notional parish priest and that of the mendicant friars. While the historian is always several steps removed from the sermon as a living event, it is clear that different influences bore upon mendicant homiletics.

The first and most noteworthy resulted from the mendicant educational systems discussed above, which stand in stark contrast to the trickle-down or patchwork methods by which an average parish priest apparently received his training and the uncertain level of influence from diocesan statutes and other *pastoralia*. This diffusion within the orders operated in two ways: education and oversight. Not only did the friars have direct channels of access to the products of the schools: they were also examined much more strenuously than the parish clergy in their preaching, education, and conformity to accepted interpretations before they could preach to the laity.¹ Moreover, as part of the imitation of the Apostles in Mark 6:7, both Franciscans and Dominicans travelled in pairs, and in the Franciscan Constitutions of Narbonne (1260), it is decreed that ‘Friars who go out, upon their return, are bound under obedience to intimate separately to the Guardian [of the convent] each other’s noteworthy excesses.’² Suspect material in preaching would certainly be worthy of mention, so this could have functioned as a policing of preaching.³ We have seen above the mechanisms whereby the more recent pastoral theologies were developed and disseminated within the orders; examples will be given below of how that affected the preaching offered by friars.

¹ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000), 272-79, 283-85; M. Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study* (Toronto, 1998), 184-93.

² Bonaventure, *Opera* VIII, 454: ‘Teneantur autem Fratres exeuntes in reditu suo secreto Guardiano excessus suos notabiles per obedientiam invicem intimare.’

³ Bonaventure, *Opera* VIII, 456.

The second is the internal tendencies of each order, drawing ultimately upon the traditions established by their founders: the successive revisions of the hagiographical literature of Francis, for instance, were the results of an argument within the order regarding the Franciscan ethos, some aspects of which could have been drawn into sermons.¹

The third, related to both of the above, is the circumstances of mendicant preachers, differing significantly from those of parish clergy. Mendicant preachers were perhaps less concerned with parish communities, as they were not tied to them in the way the parish priests were; instead, it would appear that friars were more concerned with reconciliation to God through their pastoral activities.² While this would have the strongest effects in confession, confessions often followed sermons designed to bring the laity to repentance, and so ‘In an ideal world the doctrines of books for [mendicant] confessors ... and of sermon handbooks would be studied together, for they were complementary parts of the friars’ programme of religious education.’³ Like a medieval preacher, however, I have chosen a structure and am constrained to follow it, even when artificial divisions are thereby introduced. The preaching of penance will be given its own section within this chapter, which may be read either *in situ* or in combination with chapter six below, where the friars’ hearing of confessions is discussed.

A. Preaching the Crusade

Although secular clergy had preached the crusade, it was not parish priests but bishops and other officials who were commissioned to do so. Once the friars became an international and papally-oriented

¹ Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 25-41, esp. 25-26. There are, for instance, six excerpts from *vitae* of Francis in the *Speculum Laicorum* (discussed below).

² Discussed further in W.H. Campbell, ‘Theologies of Reconciliation in Thirteenth-Century England’, *SCH* 40 (2004), 84-94, and in *idem*, “‘Moral Arithmetic’ Recalculated: A Theological Consideration of Archbishop Pecham’s Preaching Syllabus ‘Ignorantia Sacerdotum’”, delivered at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 12 July 2004.

³ D. d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), 51.

organisation of preachers, they were the obvious choice for crusade preachers, partly displacing seculars and almost wholly replacing monks. The nature and extent of mendicant crusade preaching in the thirteenth century have been surveyed by Maier.¹ In searching chronicles, royal sources, papal letters and episcopal registers, Maier has assembled much of the material relevant to England,² but his broader interest did not lead him to analyse it as such, and so a few comments are needed here to consider England specifically.³

Based on model crusade sermons, Maier notes two possible approaches the preacher could take: either inciting penitential tears or invoking rage and aggression.⁴ However, the examples of the latter that he gives are based upon local situations from parts of Europe close to the aim of the crusade being preached. Devotion is also the tone taken by a model crusade sermon ascribed to the Franciscan John Russel, the only extant sermon by a thirteenth-century Franciscan for preaching to the English laity.⁵ While, as Maier notes, model sermons for crusade preachers are not a certain guide to what the preachers said⁶ – a problem shared with most other sermon literature of the period – when the English chronicler Thomas Wykes suggested the motives of positive respondents to mendicant crusade preaching, he emphasised devotion.⁷ It is likely, therefore, that much crusade preaching in England was of a devotional and penitential nature. The devotion would be a public rally, not a private moment with God: large throngs would gather, for even attending crusade

¹ C.T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1994).

² One very small piece of evidence he apparently missed is the Franciscan preaching *vademecum* edited by S. [Gieben] of Sint Anthonis, 'Preaching in the Thirteenth Century: A Note on Gonville and Caius 439', *Collectanea Franciscana* 32 (1962), 310-24, which suggests to the preacher (p. 324) three Biblical texts on which to base a sermon *Ad cruce signandos*. However, this slight omission illuminates how thorough Maier seems to have been overall.

³ The English situation is discussed in *EEFP*, 426-36, but naturally with more reference to the Dominicans than the Franciscans. Hinnebusch also concerned himself with institutional more than pastoral matters.

⁴ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 116-17.

⁵ Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat.th.e.24, f. 2r-v; see *Bodleian Library Record* 2 (1941-49), 169. The corpus of thirteenth-century British Franciscan sermon manuscripts is dealt with below.

⁶ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 116, 165.

⁷ *Annales Monastici* IV, 217-18: 'studio piae devotionis' and 'devotionis instinctu'.

sermons carried an indulgence,¹ and Wykes' account of people rushing to take the cross certainly has a strong element of crowd behaviour to it.²

One piece of evidence from England cited but not analysed by Maier is a collection of *exempla*, illustrative stories told in sermons.³ This collection, the *Speculum Laicorum*, includes stories intended for the crusade preacher's use.⁴ In one *exemplum*, a man confessed on his deathbed to the bishop of Ely, who encouraged him to take the cross, going on crusade in person should he recover but bequeathing a share of his goods to pay another's passage if he should die. The man died soon after, but at his burial he appeared to his brother, assuring him that he had been freed from all pains of purgatory and had gone directly to heaven.⁵ Since the friars were involved not only in encouraging people to take the cross but also in persuading many to 'redeem' their vow – to fund someone else travelling in their stead – an *exemplum* underlining the efficacy of the crusader's plenary indulgence, undiminished by the vow being redeemed, would have been quite useful. Similarly, John Russel's crusade sermon begins with a note to the preacher that many will not wish to take the cross and go to the Holy Land; they should be encouraged 'to take the cross and give the cross, that is, cross-signed money [a reference to the cross on the English penny] according to their ability, that you may obtain the merit of the cross.'⁶

B. The Preaching of Penance

¹ On the indulgences, see Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 35, 50, 54, 73, 102, 106. Matthew Paris reported that in 1235 the archdeacons and rural deans were ordered to cause everyone in the parish to come together, under pain of excommunication, when crusade preachers came through: *Chron. Maj.* III, 312.

² '...quasi concertantes ad crucem accipiendam alacriter cucurrent': *Chron. Maj.* III, 312. For a similar incident, Gerald, *Opera* I, 74-76.

³ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 270.

⁴ The *Speculum Laicorum* is discussed further below in this chapter under Franciscan preaching.

⁵ *Speculum Laicorum*, 34, no. 149; see also nos. 148, 151, 152, 324, 325. 324 is a retelling of 149.

⁶ 'accipe crucem et da crucem id est pecuniam cruce signatam secundum tuam facultatem ut meritum crucis optineas.' Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat.th.e.24, f. 2r.

In practical terms, the redemption of crusade vows was the sale of an indulgence, though the friars do not seem to have been indulgence-peddlers on a regular basis.¹ However, they did take over an important pastoral role from previous sellers of indulgences: the preaching of penance.²

Penitential preaching can best be defined as preaching designed to induce contrition, in the fullest sense of that word: sorrow over sin and the intention to amend one's life, including confessing to a priest and undertaking the penance he would enjoin.³ Both Franciscans and Dominicans preached in this manner.⁴ Humbert of Romans OP wrote, 'Fruit is sowed in preaching and harvested in confession.'⁵ Anthony of Padua OFM counselled that 'The preacher's wise words should ... produce sorrow for past sins and for meriting the pains of hell.'⁶ The textual relics of the mendicants' preaching in England show the same tendency.⁷ The contents of the Dominican sermon collection in Ms. Laud Misc. 511 confirm that penitential preaching was considered particularly appropriate in Lent but took place at other times as well.⁸ As a result of penitential preaching, confessions to mendicants often followed their sermons. Closely related to the mendicants' theologies of penance was the doctrine of purgatory.⁹ This theme will be explored in more detail in chapter six below, but here we might note that there is

¹ However, an example of a Franciscan preaching and selling indulgences in Ireland is clearly indicated in the *Liber Exemplorum*, 98-99.

² N. Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences', *TRHS* 6th s. 12 (2002), 23-58, makes many important points on the subject.

³ Bonaventure, *Opera* V, 505-32, esp. 531-32; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a 90 art. 3.

⁴ K.L. Jansen, 'Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants', *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 1-25; Rivi, *Francis and the Laity* 55-99; B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000), 316; D.L. Despres, 'Exemplary Penance: The Franciscan "Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord"', *Franciscan Studies* 47 (1987), 123-37.

⁵ 'Per praedicationem enim seminatur, per confessionem vero colligitur fructus.' Humbert, *Opera* II, 479; cf. p. 31.

⁶ Anthony of Padua, *Sermones for the Easter Cycle*, ed. and trans. G. Marcil and H. Eller (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), 106.

⁷ For sources on the preaching of penance in England, see *inter alia*: 'Sermons of Jordan of Saxony'; *Fasciculus Morum*, *passim*; *Speculum Laicorum*, *passim*; O'Carroll, *Studies*, esp. 180, 183, 189.

⁸ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 149-56.

⁹ See II.6.

sermon evidence suggesting preaching about purgatory at least by the Franciscans in thirteenth-century England.¹

C. Style and Structure

The style and structure of educated preaching changed appreciably during the thirteenth century, developing from a homily or flowing argument scarcely changed from Patristic times into such a rigidly-controlled genre that the medium threatened to swallow the message. These changes took place primarily at the University of Paris,² and d'Avray has shown that the friars were the primary agents through whom Parisian sermons and ideas about preaching were disseminated to preachers throughout Latin Christendom.³ This mendicant and educated style, called either the *sermo modernus* or the 'school sermon',⁴ is generally characterised by a system of divisions and subdivisions. Through most of the century, according to the Rouses, 'the type of sermon evolved at the University of Paris ... was an admirable instrument for routine preaching to laymen.'⁵ A variety of works coevolved with preaching, designed to help the preacher find the information he needed to expand upon his text or theme.⁶ The inescapable utility of these new technologies of communication meant that even an otherwise conservative and unadventurous preacher would be glad to turn to them for help in preparing his sermons, as a case study from Portugal has shown.⁷ Both orders appear to have accepted the new tools and methodologies coequally at the university level, though the Dominicans seem to have

¹ *Fasciculus Morum*, 411-15, 421, 595; *Speculum Laicorum*, 71, 96-98. Although I have not located corresponding Dominican examples, Richard Fishacre referred to 'the fire of purgatory' and wondered about 'the place of purgatory' in another context: R.J. Long, ed., 'The Moral and Spiritual Theology of Richard Fishacre', *AFP* 60 (1990), 5-141, at 139-40.

² R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (Toronto, 1979); N. Bériou, *L'Avènement des Maîtres de la Parole* (2vv, Paris, 1998). For the longer term, J. Longère, *La Prédication Médiévale* (Paris, 1983).

³ D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985).

⁴ d'Avray, *Preaching*, 168-73, explains why these sermons should not be called 'scholastic.'

⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 82.

⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 3-42.

⁷ J.G. Tuthill, 'The School Sermon Exported: The Case of Pelagius Parvus', *Viator* 22 (1991), 169-88.

produced more textual tools, such as the great concordance of the Bible produced at the Paris Dominican convent.¹

However, there was always the risk that the ‘preacher could be tempted to devote too much energy to rhetoric and not enough to the content.’² This risk was perceived by contemporaries, who cautioned preachers not to indulge in vain subtleties that would make them look more educated while communicating less to their audience. Roger Bacon in the late 1260s complained of the vacuous use of various devices in preaching;³ and Archbishop Pecham in his 1281 preaching syllabus *Ignorantia sacerdotum* forbade using ‘fantastic webs of whatsoever kind of subtlety’.⁴ By the end of the century, at least at Paris, ‘the evolution of the school sermon as a model for preaching *ad populum* has reached its limits.’⁵

Since new methods of constructing sermons were useful, it is likely that the parish clergy adopted them to some extent. Yet, as Bacon and others warned, there could be a certain amount of showing off involved in clever structures: this implies that some listeners would respect a preacher more highly if he used such devices than they would if he did not, which could lessen the prestige of the parish priest and his old-fashioned homily in the eyes of his flock. Moorman optimistically suggested that hearing the preaching of friars ‘must have stirred many a priest to reconsider the whole question of his relationship to his flock’,⁶ but it is equally probable that it stirred many a parishioner to reconsider the whole question of his relationship to his parish priest.

D. Distinctive Elements of Dominican and Franciscan Preaching

¹ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden, 2000), 279-91; M. Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study* (Toronto, 1998), 400-79.

² O’Carroll, *Studies*, 28.

³ R. Bacon, *Opera hactenus Inedita*, ed. J.S. Brewer (RS, 1859), 304-06.

⁴ ‘cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica’. *C&S* II, 901. Though this canon was addressed mainly to parish clergy, it also suggested that parish clergy who were not up to the task should invite in guest preachers; and in a later letter to his diocesan clergy, he described such guest preachers in terms that apparently referred to friars: *C&S* II, 1078-79.

⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 85.

⁶ Moorman, *Church Life*, 80.

Many of the differences between Franciscan and Dominican theology were too esoteric to be meaningful to the laity. However, there were a few general trends that may well have made their way into sermons and other communication and catechesis. One topic of theological debate in the thirteenth century was how the atonement worked. The patristic theory was that Satan had tricked man into becoming his slave, and God had to purchase mankind with the price of His blood: this is often called the 'devil's rights' theory, and was still widely held in the thirteenth century.¹ In the late eleventh century, Anselm of Canterbury had put forward a competing explanation: the Son suffered in the place of mankind to placate divine justice: His blood paid the penalty to God, not a ransom to the devil.²

Anselm's explanation seems to have been adopted by Franciscans more quickly than by Dominicans. Neither Thomas Aquinas³ nor Richard Fishacre⁴ accepted it, but there is a clear reference to it in one of John Pecham's Eucharistic hymns.⁵ Further study is needed to determine how far this difference might have been reflected in preaching, for there are echoes of Anselm's theory in some of the Dominican sermons of Ms. Laud Misc. 511, which was compiled by 1275 and possibly as early as 1259.⁶

A second difference is that some Franciscans were caught up in the eschatological prophecies of Joachim of Fiore.⁷ Adam Marsh not only indulged in apocalyptic rhetoric in several of his letters:⁸ he sent a copy of Joachim's prophecies to Grosseteste, commending them and asking for his opinion.⁹ A very few Dominicans dabbled in this as

¹ Held, for instance, by Grosseteste. D.J. Unger, 'Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253) on the Reasons for the Incarnation', *Franciscan Studies* 16 (1956), 1-36.

² Anselm of Canterbury, 'Cur Deus Homo', PL CLVIII, 360-432.

³ Anselm of Canterbury, *The Major Works*, ed. B. Davies and G.R. Evans (Oxford, 1998), xxii.

⁴ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 238-39.

⁵ 'O Jesu vivens hostia, placa majestatem.' *Epist. Pecham* III, cxvii.

⁶ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 113-16, 245-47.

⁷ E.R. Daniel, 'A Re-examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachitism', *Speculum* 43 (1968), 671-76; D. Burr, 'Franciscan Exegesis and Francis as an Apocalyptic Figure', in E.B. King *et al.*, ed., *Monks, Nuns and Friars in Medieval Society* (Sewanee, TN, 1989), 51-62.

⁸ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 89-90, 96-97, 153-57, 420-22.

⁹ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 146-47.

well.¹ John Russel OFM used Joachim's writings guardedly in his commentary on the Book of Revelation, omitting all controversial references.² The Franciscan preaching manual *Fasciculus Morum* (discussed below) does not focus on apocalypticism: Revelation is only the tenth-most-cited book of the Bible.³ Further work will need to be done before we can see how far Joachism affected English mendicant popular preaching.

Both Franciscans and Dominicans were intent on 'preaching' by example, which required no licence to preach; it required only public visibility and opportunities to meet and speak with the laity.⁴ Robert Grosseteste, towards the beginning of his episcopate, wrote the following to Alexander Stavensby, former teacher of Dominic and his first friars, now bishop of Coventry and Lichfield:

For Your Prudence knows how useful the presence and co-inhabitation of Friars Minor are to the people with whom they live; since likewise by the word of preaching and by the example of holy and heavenly manner of life, and the continual devotion of constant prayer, they both bring peace tirelessly and enlighten the land, and they make up on this part for the greater part of the shortcomings of parsons. ...the comportment of the said Friars Minor is the illumination of the people with whom they live, unto the knowledge of truth and the direction, drawing, goading and pushing [of the people] into the way of peace.⁵

¹ M. Reeves, 'Joachimist Expectations in the Order of Augustinian Hermits', *RTAM* 25 (1958), 111-141.

² B. Smalley, 'John Russel, OFM', *RTAM* 23 (1956), 277-320.

³ *Fasciculus Morum*, 740-42.

⁴ This idea, which has roots in the patristic era, was strongly held by Francis and remembered by his order. In 1385, for instance, Friar Bartholomew of Pisa wrote that 'Blessed Francis appointed his friars to preach by word and example' ('beatus Franciscus ad praedicandum verbo et exemplo suos fratres destinavit'). Bartholomew of Pisa, *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu, auctore Fr. Bartholomæo de Pisa*, *Analecta Franciscana* Tomi IV and V (1906 and 1912), IV 559.

⁵ 'Scit enim vestra discretio quam utilis est populo, cum quo habitant, Fratrum Minorum praesentia et cohabitatio; cum tam verbo praedicationis quam exemplo sanctae caelestisque conversationis et devotione jugis orationis continue et indefesse portent pacem et patriam illuminent, suppleantque in hac parte, pro magna parte defectum praelatorum. ...dictorum Fratrum Minorum conversatio est populi cum quo habitant ad agnoscendam veritatem illuminatio, et ad currendum in viam pacis directio, tractus, stimulatio, et propulsio'. *Epist. Grosseteste*, 120-22, dated ca. 1236.

While the Dominicans intended their asceticism to be part of preaching by example as well,¹ their more cloistered life contrasted to the freer *conversatio* of the Franciscans, especially in the earlier years. However, this distinction would disappear once a friar and his *socius* set out on a preaching tour of villages and towns without resident friars. Dominicans were conscious of these opportunities for edifying talk.²

In further comparisons below, much more will be said of Franciscan than of Dominican preaching in England. In part this reflects the sources that have been chosen for analysis, which makes it easier (perhaps deceptively so) to posit distinctive elements of Franciscan than of Dominican preaching. Moreover, the Dominicans have recently been well studied.³ O'Carroll thoroughly analysed one of the two extant thirteenth-century English Dominican *vademecum* sermon collections, Ms. Laud Misc. 511. The other, Ms. Bodley 25, has received scant attention to date, but a similarly detailed study of it is probably the single greatest *desideratum* in British mendicant historiography.⁴ The nature of the documentation on thirteenth-century English Franciscan preaching, however, makes it unlikely that a monograph on the subject will ever be written, and this gap needs to be filled here as well as it may be.

E. Dominicans

The making of a Dominican preacher was a labour-intensive process. Although England lacked the organised, sophisticated Continental heretics the Dominicans had been founded to counter,

¹ Tugwell, *Dominican Writings*, 16-19.

² R. Creytens, ed., 'Le manuel de conversation de Philippe de Ferrare O.P.', *AFP* 16 (1946), 107-35.

³ O'Carroll, *Studies*.

⁴ Ms. Bodley 25 is described in F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* II (Oxford, 1922) 91, and its nearly 500 sermons are catalogued in Schneyer, *Repertorium* 6, 586-610. At 6 3/8 by 4 1/4 inches, but with some 650 folios, this diminutive book of the late thirteenth century was designed to be portable. As other scholars were unsure why Schneyer had assigned it a Dominican provenance, David d'Avray very kindly examined this manuscript for me and found evidence of Dominican provenance in the sermons for the Feast of St. Dominic. Personal communications, November 2004. I have since examined it in person and note that the preponderance of sermons for the feasts of English and Dominican saints (e.g. Augustine of Canterbury, Peter Martyr OP) likewise points to English Dominican provenance.

there is no hint that the Order of Preachers in England ever reconsidered their educational agenda, suggesting that they considered unbelief, insufficient understanding and spiritual sloth just as worthy of their attention.

Both Franciscans and Dominicans aimed in their preaching at the salvation of souls, but they seem to have gone about it in somewhat different ways. Dominican preaching differed from the earliest Franciscan preaching in that it could include doctrine as well as the call to repentance. There was probably not quite as substantial a component of devotion *per se*. Considering the purposes of their order's foundation, this comes as no surprise. The thirteenth-century Dominicans produced little in the way of 'spiritual classics', according to Tugwell, because 'the early Dominicans were not particularly concerned, either for themselves or for others, with what has come to be called the "interior life".'¹ The better-known of the two instructional treatises for Dominican novice-masters assumed that progress on the 'interior man' could only begin after the complete vanquishing of the 'exterior man', including the flesh, which very few were expected to achieve.² Despite the association of the friars with a new optimism about the *salvabilitas* of the laity, if the Dominicans expected only the holiest ascetics among themselves to begin progress on the 'interior man', they doubtless believed that the number of laity who could do so was negligible, and correspondingly avoided inclusion of relevant material in their sermons.

All this does not, of course, mean that the Dominicans did not preach devotionally: sermon evidence makes the contrary very clear. Nonetheless, Bonaventure apparently hit the mark when he noted that the chief difference between the main mendicant orders was that the Preachers aimed first at thought (*speculatio*) and then at inspiration (*unctio*), while the Minors went at it the other way around.³

¹ Tugwell, *Dominican Writings*, 3.

² B. Roest, 'Novice Training and Religious Education in the Mendicant Orders (13th-15th Centuries)', delivered at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 2003.

³ Bonaventure, *Opera* V, 440-41.

F. Franciscans

While a substantial quantity of thirteenth-century English Dominican sermon manuscripts still exist, no such material appears to survive from the English Franciscans.¹ Having surveyed the contents of the first five volumes of Schneyer, *Repertorium*, wherein are catalogued all known sermons in manuscript from the period 1150-1350, the following can be said about British Franciscan sermons from before 1300:

Many of the sermons were preached at Oxford in the years 1291-1293.² University sermons were preached in Latin to a clerical audience; while studying them would throw light on preachers' attitudes to preaching (which appears to be a common theme), these were not sermons accessible to the laity. Listeners could take notes – *reportationes* – and use these in their own preaching;³ but this could only be established if such manuscripts were found, especially in *vademecum* form or with changes of emphasis pointing to a lay audience. Indeed, all other sermons attributed to British Franciscans before 1300 either can be positively dismissed (such as Paris University sermons⁴), or only appear to have been preached abroad (such as the sermons John of Wales OFM⁵), or for various other

¹ The only known sermon to the laity is the crusade sermon of John Russel, mentioned earlier in this chapter, and its specific nature sets it apart from 'normal' preaching. It is the first sermon in the collection in the manuscript; the rest are unscribed. They may well be by John Russel or fellow Franciscans, but this cannot at present be determined. We also exclude the few extant sermons of John Pecham: while some collations were apparently delivered in England, they were before fellow Franciscans, not laity. D.L. Douie, 'Archbishop Pecham's Sermons and Collations', in R.W. Hunt *et al.*, ed., *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), 269-82. University sermons are likewise excluded. B. Smalley, *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif* (London, 1981), 183-203.

² The sermons of these two manuscripts are catalogued in Schneyer, *Repertorium* 6, 239-46 and 246-47 respectively.

³ M. O'Carroll, 'Two Versions of a Sermon by Richard Fishacre OP', *AFP* 54 (1984), 113-41.

⁴ Schneyer, *Repertorium* 6, 7-237.

⁵ John of Wales (d. 1285) left Oxford for Paris around 1270. Of the 413 items catalogued in Schneyer, *Repertorium* 3, 480-510, only one – a protheme, the introduction to a sermon, no. 9 in Schneyer – is extant in an English manuscript, and even this is also extant in several continental manuscripts, so its presence in England probably signifies nothing. On John of Wales, see J. Swanson, *John of Wales* (Cambridge, 1989).

reasons should be considered unlikely to have been preached to thirteenth-century laity in England.¹ A sophisticated sermon in manuscript could have been preached to laity by simplifying as necessary, and in many cases sermons that appear to be to clergy may well have been delivered to laity in dilute form. What we would need, however, are manuscripts giving some such indication, or with internal evidence of a lay audience. The only sermon that appears to fill these criteria is John Russel's crusade sermon mentioned above. This sermon begins in mid-sentence, for the first folio of its manuscript (and thus probably two-thirds of the sermon) is lost. The contents of the manuscript show it to have been owned by a bishop, not an itinerant friar, so its other contents are of no help either.²

¹ I have trawled through the whole of Schneyer, *Repertorium*, and collected all references to sermons possibly delivered to thirteenth-century English laity by Franciscans. Some are discussed and eliminated in the footnotes above. The remaining ones, judged here substantially on external criteria, do not show evidence of use in popular preaching, though examination of the texts of the unpublished ones might overturn this judgement.

William of Ware (Schneyer, *Repertorium* 3, 793). One sermon, in Oxford Merton 237 fol. 90 va and Turin Naz. D. VI. f. 222. The Merton manuscript is a sermon collection of s. xiv compiled at Paris, whither William went in 1305; there is no English record of the sermon. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur* I (Oxford, 1852), 93; P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des Maîtres in Théologie de Paris au XIII^e Siècle* II (Paris, 1933), no. 334; *BRUO*, 1986. Curiously, Sharpe, *Handlist* 815-16 omits this sermon without mention.

Richard Rufus of Cornwall (Schneyer, *Repertorium* 5, 149-50). Two sermons; the first is apparently Parisian. The second is in Cambridge Pembroke 87 fol. 217v. This codex is a miscellany of s. xiii^{ex} – s. xivⁱⁿ. While the codex contains other pastoral material, Richard's sermon (along with a few others) is sandwiched between two tracts on numerology. M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), 78-80; *BRUO*, 1605-06.

William Herbert (Schneyer, *Repertorium* 2, 460). Herbert preached both of these sermons in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford: these are most likely university sermons. A.G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), 167-68. The manuscript, British Library Ms. Add. 46,919, which also contains Herbert's celebrated Middle English devotional poetry, is partly in Herbert's own hand. He is not known to have been in Oxford before 1314, making it doubly improbable that these sermons were heard by thirteenth-century laity. *BRUO*, 911-12; British Library, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1946-1950, Part I: Descriptions* (London, 1979), 197-206.

William of Nottingham (Schneyer, *Repertorium* 2, 525; *BRUO*, 1377) was English Provincial Minister of his order from 1240 to 1254. His sole recorded sermon is in Cambridge Pembroke 265 at fols. 192-96 according to Schneyer, fols. 195-98 according to M.R. James, *Pembroke*, 241-43. The codex is a theological miscellany of the thirteenth century, and the compiler who included this *sermo bonus*, as he described it, seems to have meant it for meditative reading. The codex certainly is not a preacher's *vademecum*.

² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat.th.e.24. Other sermons are for such episcopal occasions as the visitation of a monastery or the consecration of a virgin.

What do exist are collections of *exempla*.¹ British Franciscans seem to have been particularly productive of these, and the alphabetical subject arrangement, making for ready reference, was apparently developed first by them.² One collection is from thirteenth-century England: the *Speculum Laicorum*, dated to 1279 x 1292.³ Several more may be added as close enough to throw light on the situation. The collection now in Auxerre Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 35, also dated to 1279 x 1292, appears to have been written by an English Franciscan who was active in France.⁴ The *Liber Exemplorum* was produced in Ireland in the 1270s, but apparently by an English Franciscan; it is probably the oldest extant British *exempla* collection, yet it refers to several lost earlier collections as sources: the *Exempla Deodati* was apparently an Irish Franciscan *exempla* collection; the *Exempla Communia* is otherwise unknown; and the 'Liber Fratris Johannis de Kilkenny' was clearly Irish, likely Franciscan, and probably either an *exempla* collection or a pastoral *vademecum* including *exempla* and other material.⁵ John of Wales (d. 1285) wrote several *exempla* collections of varying types, some of which may have been completed before he left Oxford for Paris, but their chronology remains to be established in full; it is likely, however, that he started such work before leaving England, making him another important witness to this British Franciscan tendency.⁶ The *Tabula Exemplorum*, dated to the later 1270s, was compiled apparently by a French Franciscan, but it was used as a source by the English compiler of the *Speculum Laicorum*, so it was certainly known to English Franciscans in the thirteenth century and probably used by them.⁷ The

¹ On *exempla* and their use in sermons, see C. Bremond, J. le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt, *L'«Exemplum»* (Turnhout, 1982); Bériou, *L'Avènement*, vol. I, 506-37; and J.-Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris and Toulouse, 1927).

² J.-C. Schmitt, 'Recueils Franciscains d'«Exempla» et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIII^e siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 135 (1977), 1-22.

³ *Speculum Laicorum*.

⁴ Welter, *L'Exemplum*, 301-04.

⁵ *Liber Exemplorum*, xii, 81-82.

⁶ J. Swanson, *John of Wales* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁷ Welter, *L'Exemplum*, 294-97. There are seven copies in England, six in France, and nine in other countries.

anonymous *Fasciculus Morum* is English but dates from the very beginning of the next century.¹ The *Fasciculus Morum* represents another important development pointing to utility: earlier collections had merely given the *exempla* themselves, leaving the preacher to moralise it for his audience; *Fasciculus Morum* often provides the preacher with the moral of the story.²

To these we could add further writings such as that of the first author of the *Lanercost Chronicle*, Richard of Durham OFM, who ‘was essentially a preacher, and interspersed his narrative with many stories suitable for use in the pulpit.’³ History was a common source for *exempla* and Franciscans certainly wrote a lot of chronicles, many of them about their own order and frequently containing potential *exempla*. A.G. Little argued that Richard of Durham was the same man as the Richard of Slickburn OFM who apparently compiled a now-lost *exempla* collection which contributed one entry to the *Speculum Laicorum*.⁴

Despite the greater amount of English Dominican sermon material extant, it is much easier to suggest distinctive elements in Franciscan than in Dominican preaching. This may not be so paradoxical as it seems: perhaps facile assumptions are simply made easier in the Franciscan case because of a loss of material that could contradict them or hedge them about with exceptions. Keeping that caveat in mind, it is worth querying why in England several manuscripts of sermons to the laity exist from the Dominicans and almost none from the Franciscans, and also why, despite better survival of their sermon manuscripts and *distinctiones* – sermon

¹ *Fasciculus Morum*, 22.

² J.-Th. Welter either was unaware of *Fasciculus Morum* or else classified it (incorrectly) as something other than an *exempla* collection. His list was followed by J.-C. Schmitt, ‘Recueils Franciscains d’«Exempla»’, and Bremond, le Goff and Schmitt in *L’«Exemplum»*. The latter lists three collections of the early fourteenth century as being the first ones to provide the moral (63-64); but *Fasciculus Morum* antedates them by more than a decade.

³ Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 36.

⁴ Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 50-51; *Speculum Laicorum*, 27-28.

outlines for the preacher's use¹ – only one thirteenth-century English Dominican *exempla* collection is extant, the 'Church Tales' of British Library Ms. Royal 7.D.i, dated to the 1270s.² Hinnebusch suggested from this and other sources that English Dominicans' use of *exempla* was 'conservative, restrained and moderate.'³ Although this disparity may be pure coincidence, it suggests the possibility that thirteenth-century English Dominicans preferred to have their sermons fully organised well in advance, while contemporary Franciscans preferred to improvise. The existence of a quire (apparently a *vademecum*) of apparent English Franciscan provenance from the late thirteenth century, containing a simple mechanism for generating improvised sermons for various occasions and audiences, also fits this hypothesis.⁴ It must be admitted that we have no thirteenth-century *vademecum* copies of British Franciscan *exempla* collections, which would be the 'smoking gun' tying them to improvisational use in the pulpit; but as d'Avray has argued, the small, cheaply-made, heavily-used, constantly-transported mendicant *vademecum* books have suffered a 'colossal' loss rate over the centuries:⁵ while, Europe-wide, they once existed in their thousands, we have a handful today, of which only three are certainly extant from thirteenth-century Britain.⁶

A.G. Little suggested that Franciscans, 'inspired by the conviction that their movement was something new in the world –

¹ On the evolution of *distinctiones*, see R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (Toronto, 1979), 70-85, and O'Carroll, *Studies*, 176-78.

² *Catalogue of Romances*, 477-503; G.F. Warner and J.P. Gibson, ed., *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, Volume I* (London, 1921), 184-85; Welter, *L'Exemplum*, 244-48; S.L. Forte, 'A Cambridge Dominican Collector of Exempla in the Thirteenth Century', *AFP* 28 (1958), 115-48. This is only the case if we only consider *exempla* collections *tout court*: Ms. Laud Misc. 511 contains some *exempla* in its sermons, though from O'Carroll's summary it appears that many of these were properly *similitudines*, non-narrative illustrations that differ from narrative *exempla*. O'Carroll, *Studies*, 342-54.

³ *EEFP*, 300-05.

⁴ S. [Gieben] of Sint Anthonis, 'Preaching in the Thirteenth Century: A Note on Gonville and Caius 439', *Collectanea Franciscana* 32 (1962), 310-24. This had a Dominican counterpart in the 'Ars Praedicandi Abbreviata' of Hugh of Snaith OP in Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 357, ff. 35v-38r, though the fact that the Franciscan work is known in some ten early copies across Europe and the Hugh's *Ars* exists only in a fifteenth-century non-Dominican Irish liturgical manuscript may correspond to the relative popularity of this kind of work and this kind of preaching in the respective orders.

⁵ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 57-58; *idem*, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (Oxford, 2001), 17-19.

⁶ That is, the two Dominican sermon books Ms. Bodley 25 and Ms. Laud Misc. 511, and the Franciscan single quire, Ms. Gonville and Caius 439.

amounting almost to another divine revelation' were more interested in the history of their order and its perceived connexion with apocalyptic prophecy than with recording sermons.¹ It is true that they were more interested in the history of their order than the Dominicans were in theirs. Further, Alexander of Hales, teacher of the Paris Franciscans, pointedly suggested that if you cannot preach without a book, you should ask yourself how valuable your preaching really is.² However, the lack of sermon manuscripts seems to be a distinctly British problem: looking Europe-wide, Schneyer's *Repertorium* gives just under one hundred pages to Dominican sermon collections in manuscript from before 1350, and nearly five hundred pages to Franciscan ones.³ On the other hand, there has been a greater loss of British than continental mendicant material, and what is left may reflect no more than the vicissitudes of chance survival. If the disparity in the surviving sermon materials from thirteenth-century Britain does reflect a difference in actual preaching, it was a geographically peculiar characteristic, but this does not make it unlikely.

On some matters, however, we are on firmer ground. We know precisely the remit of the preaching of the first nine Minorites who arrived in England in 1224. Their *Regula Bullata*, the Rule of the Order of Friars Minor issued as a papal Bull the previous year, exhorted those deputed to preach

that in their preaching their speech should be considered and chaste, for the usefulness and building up of the people, proclaiming to them the vices and virtues, punishment and glory, concisely: for the Lord spoke concisely on earth.⁴

¹ Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 25-26.

² L. Smith, 'Lending Books', in L. Smith and B. Ward, ed., *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 265-79, at 270-71.

³ Schneyer, *Repertorium*. Dominicans: vol. 6, 537-631; Franciscans: vol. 7, 2-495. The average page catalogues between fifteen and twenty sermons.

⁴ '... in praedicatione, quam faciunt, sint examinata, et casta eorum eloquia ad utilitatem, et aedificationem Populi, annunciando eis vitia, et virtutes, poenam et gloriam cum brevitate sermones, quia verbum abbreviatum fecit Dominus super terram.' *Reg. Bull.* IX.

Following the earlier decision of Innocent III,¹ the lay Franciscans were limited by Honorius III to moral exhortation and were not permitted to preach doctrine. However, preaching on the vices and virtues, the torments of hell and the joys of heaven offered considerable latitude for exhorting lay listeners to a holier life, perhaps modelled on the Franciscans' interpretation of *imitatio Christi*. Even as the order grew more educated and clerical and its preaching remit was extended to include doctrine, these themes remained important, for they were enshrined in the Rule. The *Liber Exemplorum* found plenty of room for them, though it did not treat the complete 'sets' of seven vices and virtues.² The *Speculum Laicorum* found room for almost nothing but vices and virtues, though it too gave a longer list that did not include all seven of either traditional set.³ John of Wales opened one of his preachers' *exempla* collections by quoting this sentence from the Rule, and used it as the structure of the work.⁴ The author of the *Fasciculus Morum* likewise began his work with a specific invocation of the early instruction: 'As is said in the *Rule* of blessed father Francis ... we [Franciscans] are held to show and preach to the people, in short words, the vices and virtues, punishment and glory.'⁵ He also based his structure on the seven vices and discussed the seven virtues. In 1372, the Norfolk Franciscan John of Grimstone included the *Regula Bullata* in his preaching notebook, along with a note taken from the *Speculum Perfectionis*, a life of Francis dated to 1318,⁶ that deliberately harks back to the early Rules.⁷ That these works, all of which were for practical use in workaday preaching, continued to

¹ M. Lauwers, 'Praedicatio – Exhortatio: l'Église, la Réforme et les Laïcs (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)', in R.M. Dessì and M. Lauwers, ed., *La Parole du Prédicateur, V^e-XV^e siècle* (Nice, France, 1997), 187-232.

² *Liber Exemplorum*. The work also includes three *exempla* on the Joys of Heaven (90-91).

³ *Speculum Laicorum*.

⁴ The work in question was John's *Monoloquium*. Wenzel, *Verses*, 10; S. Gieben, 'Preaching in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth Century)', in E.B. King et al., ed., *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Medieval Society* (Sewanee, TN, 1989), 1-27, at 24.

⁵ 'Ut enim habetur in *Regula* beati patris Francisci ... tenemur populo denunciare et predicare vicia et virtutes, penam et gloriam cum brevitate sermonis.' *Fasciculus Morum*, 32-33, Wenzel's translation.

⁶ P. Sabatier, *Le Speculum Perfectionis: ou, Mémoires de Frère Léon* (in 2 vols., Manchester, 1928, 1931).

⁷ E. Wilson, ed., *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimstone's Preaching Book* (Oxford, 1973), x; National Library of Scotland Ms. Advocates 18.7.21, fols. 137r-39v.

subscribe to the Rule's dictum long after lay Franciscan preaching had fallen by the wayside strongly suggests that this ethos of preaching endured among English Franciscans. A connection is apparent between the *Regula Bullata's* prescription and the prevalence of *exempla* collections: as the structure and contents of the collections make clear, *exempla* were considered particularly useful for preaching on these four themes. Perhaps the English Franciscan province tended to observe this precept more literally than others: this could account for a popular preaching tradition parallel to the *sermo modernus* which would leave a larger number of *exempla* collections and a smaller number of sermon manuscripts in comparison to English Dominicans or Continental Franciscans.

There remains one set of differences, yet perhaps the most uncertain. It has long been considered that the Franciscans also involved two additional means of communication in their religious instruction, apparently more than the Dominicans: poetry and drama. Both can be seen to originate with Francis himself,¹ but how far poetry and song were actually used in preaching in thirteenth-century England is a matter of debate.² There is little certainty about the authorship of many lyrics, and even when it is fairly well-established, some doubt is appropriate regarding their purpose and use,³ unless they are clearly integrated into preaching manuscripts, such as *Fasciculus Morum*. All too often, lyrics have been attributed to

¹ J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), 266-72; Thomas of Celano, 'Vita Prima Sancti Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (1926-1941), 5-115, at 14-15; D.L. Jeffrey, 'St. Francis and Medieval Theatre', *Franciscan Studies* 43 (1983), 321-46, at 324-25. The association of verse, both Latin and vernacular, with preaching material in certain English Franciscan manuscripts – strongly suggesting that the verses were used in preaching – has been examined in Wenzel, *Verses*; examples of such manuscripts in print include *Fasciculus Morum*, and E. Wilson, *John of Grimstone's Preaching Book* (Oxford, 1973).

² D.L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975); Wenzel, *Verses*.

³ For instance, the South English Legendary and the Southern Passion were long considered to be mendicant productions used in preaching: B.D. Brown, *The Southern Passion* (London, 1927); C. d'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, ed., *The South English Legendary* (London, 1956). This is no longer considered likely: M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary* (Leeds, 1974), 48-50; O.S. Pickering, *The South English Ministry and Passion* (Heidelberg, 1984), 50-53. Bjelland's suggestions are therefore of no use unless further scholarship returns to a claim of mendicant authorship: K. Bjelland, 'Franciscan versus Dominican Responses to the Knight as a Societal Model: The Case of the "South English Legendary"', *Franciscan Studies* 48 (1988), 11-25.

Franciscans or Dominicans because they purportedly reflected the 'sensibilities' or 'aesthetics' of one order or the other, but such classifications are now considered dubious.¹

The point remains, however, that the Franciscans do seem to have cultivated, in their members and their literature, a much more 'mystical' affective devotion than is commonly seen among Dominicans. This is not to say that the Dominicans were not open to emotive devotion, for the contrary is quite clear.² One can hardly claim that Thomas Aquinas' hymn for Corpus Christi, *Adoro te devote*, is less devotional or more theological than John Pecham's two hymns apparently written for the same feast: the reverse is more accurate.³ Nonetheless, the corpus of emotive Franciscan devotional writings, from John de Caulibus' *Meditaciones Vitae Christi*⁴ to the *Stabat Mater dolorosa*,⁵ is overwhelmingly larger than its Dominican counterpart. One way in which the particular emphases of the orders could be reinforced was that prospective recruits would choose the order with which they were already most in sympathy; it may well be that many chose to join – or attend the sermons of – the Dominicans over the Franciscans because they preferred intellectual to affective devotion.

While sympathetic approaches to Jesus and Mary in their earthly lives were already part of the changing popular religious mood of Western Christendom by this time, the Franciscans, more than any other pastorally active order, took this as their hallmark. The affective Franciscan poem *Stabat Mater* had a close vernacular counterpart in England in the moving lyric 'Stonde wel, moder, ounder rode', a conversation between the Virgin and her crucified Son found in Ms.

¹ S. Wenzel, 'The Dominican Presence in Middle English Literature', in K. Emery and J. Wawrykow, ed., *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame, 1998), 315-31.

² R. Woods, *Mysticism and Prophecy: The Dominican Tradition* (Maryknoll, NY, 1998).

³ *Epist. Pecham III*, cxiv-cxviii. The poem 'De confessione' which follows is now considered a spurious attribution: *Tractatus Tres*, 12.

⁴ Long attributed to St. Bonaventure. John de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vitae Christi: Olim S. Bonaventuro Attributae*, ed. M. Stallings-Taney (Turnhout, 1997).

⁵ Formerly attributed to Bonaventure, its more likely author is Jacopone da Todi OFM. Moorman, *A History*, 269; article 'Stabat mater Dolorosa' in *ODCC*; R. O'Gorman, 'The *Stabat Mater* in Middle French Verse', *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992), 191-201.

Digby 86, a manuscript of possible Franciscan provenance.¹ There is no indication that this poem is of Franciscan authorship, and it draws on twelfth-century Latin material. Nonetheless, its inclusion in what may have been a Franciscan manuscript would reflect its resonance with Franciscan spirituality. Wenzel notes that 'This earlier form of spirituality ... was not invented but at best appropriated and popularized by the Franciscans' devotion to the suffering Christ.'² For our purposes, however, the origin is not the point: Franciscan preaching, by word and example alike, relied heavily on these pre-existing themes and assisted in making them an indelible part of the religious consciousness of Latin Christians.³

One might justly ask how far such tendencies affected popular preaching. The question of the sort of devotion promoted in thirteenth-century English mendicant preaching is complicated by the disparity of the source material left by the two orders, and this is unlikely to change substantially. Further work on the relationship of Middle English poetry to mendicant preaching before 1300 may in future provide some answers, or at least raise interesting questions. In the current state of knowledge, however, there is no *a priori* reason to doubt that Franciscans were more likely to promote affective devotion; and we are on slightly firmer ground with the Dominicans, for in sermons on the Passion for the second Sunday after Easter in Ms. Laud Misc. 511, 'Despite the opportunity for pious rhetoric offered by these sermons, their style is not explicit in emotional appeal, but restrained – understated, even.'⁴

Although there is much yet to be learned about popular preaching in thirteenth-century England, it is likely that there were

¹ Two versions are printed in C. Brown, ed., *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), 87-91. For provenance of Ms. Digby 86, see *ibid.*, xxxii-xxxiii. A shorter and earlier version of the poem, printed on *ibid.* 203-04, has musical notes in the manuscript. An edited version of the poem appears in T.G. Duncan, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics* (London, 1995), 124-6.

² S. Wenzel, 'The Dominican Presence in Middle English Literature', in Emery and Wawrykow, ed., *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, 315-31, at 324.

³ See, for instance, the frequency of such themes in *Liber Exemplorum*.

⁴ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 248-49.

noticeable differences between Franciscan and Dominican preaching, and there can be little doubt that these differed far more from most parish homilies than from one another. But people who heard friars preach also heard their parish priests, and probably more often; as important as mendicant preaching was to popular religious formation, we should be wary of thinking of it as more than an adjunct to religious education in the parish.

II.5: Sacraments, Liturgy and Prayer: The Mendicants and the Laity

Although both Franciscans and Dominicans intended from their early days to make the singing of the praises of God part of their purpose, the care of the souls of the laity through administering sacraments (other than penance) was not in the original plan. Recalling Archbishop Pecham's threefold description of the care of souls – the preaching of the Word of God, the dispensing of the sacraments of the Church, and especially the hearing of confession – we note that Pecham, a Franciscan, gave the dispensing of liturgical sacraments other than penance the least prominent place in the list. Perhaps his long experience of being a friar had so conditioned his priorities. In the same set of instructions for his diocesan clergy, Pecham did enjoin faithful performance of the Divine Office, but as a disciplinary matter, not a pastoral one.¹

Nor was Pecham alone. Around 1260, Thomas Docking OFM wondered whether preaching or baptism gave more grace, and decided for preaching.² Humbert of Romans, former Minister General of the Dominican order, argued that the laity are more edified by preaching than by the Offices, for they understand the former but not the latter:³ such an elevation of understanding over affective devotion might not have been shared by parish clergy.

Emphasising study and preaching, the mendicants used shortened liturgies. The Dominican constitutions of 1228 recommended that the Office should be sung *breviter* so that study might not be impeded.⁴ Both Minors and Preachers developed their own streamlined Offices, resulting in the codicological reduction of several liturgical volumes into a single Breviary, and the simplified Franciscan Eucharistic liturgy developed into the low mass which has

¹ C&S II, 1078-80; also *Epist. Pecham* III, 948-49.

² J. Leclercq, 'Le Magistère du Prédicateur au XIII^e siècle', *AHDLMA* 21 (1946), 105-47, at 109-11.

³ Humbert, *Opera* II, 432-33.

⁴ 'Constitutiones OP', 194.

been used ever since.¹ Indeed, many friars wanted to shorten the liturgy even further than Pecham wished to allow.²

However, this does not mean that the mendicants did not take their liturgies seriously, nor that laypeople did not attend them. The founders of both orders left both words and memories encouraging Eucharistic devotion in particular.³ Screens in Dominican churches were to have shuttered windows to allow laypeople in the nave to view the host at its elevation in the mass, when the shutters would be opened.⁴ Parish clergy complained that the laity (and their donations) were being siphoned off by the liturgies of mendicant churches.⁵ The shortness of the liturgy seems to have been one reason, but on many occasions the friars seem to have used the brief liturgy not to get people out the door faster but to add a sermon: Goering wrote that ‘it might be suggested that this development encouraged some recipients of pastoral care to prefer a sermon-centered liturgical service to the traditional eucharist-centered mass.’⁶ The potential impact on the religious life of the people of changing their expectations for what a service should be like must not be underestimated. If mendicant churches developed a particular clientele of regular worshippers, the result would be very similar to two denominations: the closest parallel might be the springing up of Methodist chapels in nineteenth-century British towns, offering a different sort of service but not freedom from some of the demands of the established church. In an age of predominantly foot traffic, a mendicant church might develop a sort of quasi-parochial district overlapping the parish boundaries.

¹ O’Carroll, *Studies*, 122, 357-58; J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), 20-21, 31.

² D. Douie, *Archibishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), 41; B. Thompson, ‘The Academic and Active Vocations in the Medieval Church: Archbishop Pecham’, in C.M. Barron and J. Stratford, ed., *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society* (Donington, Lincs., 2002), 1-24, at 8-9, 14; *Tractatus Tres*, 49-51.

³ R. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), 117-19, 180-81.

⁴ *EEFP*, 144. Unfortunately, there seem to be no examples extant in England, as so little mendicant architecture remains.

⁵ The context suggests mendicant masses. *EEFP*, 321-22. The examples are not English, but a record from Scarborough in 1298 indicates regular attendance at services in the Dominican church: *EEFP*, 120.

⁶ Goering, ‘Popularization’, 116-17.

In mendicant liturgy as in preaching we see the geography of pastoral care in action. There was also a chronology. The first mendicants worshipped in parish churches, not yet having churches of their own, and when they did begin to build it was originally on a smaller scale, in keeping with their vows of poverty. The early Franciscans at Cambridge had a chapel erected that was so small, according to Friar Thomas, that a single carpenter erected the fifteen pairs of roof-timbers in a single day.¹ Moreover, it took some time after friars arrived in a town before they could arrange the resources to build a sizeable church: Matthew Paris wrote of them beginning by setting up portable altars.² From mid-century onwards the rules requiring small, humble chapels were increasingly bent as both orders sought to accommodate increasing lay congregations. Around the end of the century, the London Dominican priory had a nave measuring 120 by 66 feet,³ or nearly 8000 ft² of floor space: it could easily hold over a thousand laity. Early in the next century the London Franciscans surpassed this with a church measuring 300 feet long (including the chancel) and 89 feet wide.⁴ While these naves included aisles, the columns, according to Hinnebusch, were particularly slender to allow more congregants to view the preacher.⁵

Preaching seems to have been closely connected to its liturgical context. Rubin has noted that the religious enthusiasm stirred up by the mass made it 'an occasion for preaching in a highly charged setting.'⁶ Preaching in the mass about the mass itself would play especially well on this synergy. *Exempla* regarding the Eucharist, particularly miraculous tales, might effectively penetrate the lay conscience, and mendicants were the primary promoters and users of

¹ *De Adventu*, 28.

² *Chron. Maj.* III, 332-33; *EEFP*, 66.

³ *EEFP*, 136. This was at their second site, Ludgate, whither they removed in the late 1270s: *ibid.* 40-41.

⁴ C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Manchester, 1915), 38-39.

⁵ *EEFP* 136.

⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 95.

exempla in the thirteenth century.¹ Examples in English and related collections are not wanting.²

By the later thirteenth century, theological discussion about the Eucharist had passed largely into the hands of mendicant theologians;³ later, one of Wyclif's complaints about the friars was that they had spread belief in transubstantiation among the English people.⁴ Because Franciscans and Dominicans held somewhat different views on the matter,⁵ we might expect the regulars at their services, those who lived close enough for frequent attendance, to have been given correspondingly different information in their sermons. This might then have effected changes in their experience of the mass even in their own parish churches.

Physical reception of the host by the laity in mendicant churches does not seem to have been regular practice: such is the implication of the problems resulting from such an incident at Easter in 1309, though this was an unusual case because one of the parishioners who communicated was excommunicate.⁶ The Dominican sermon manuscript Ms. Laud Misc. 511 contains nine sermons for Easter Sunday, including discussion of the reception of the host,⁷ but it seems that this reflects Dominican presence at parish churches: in 1255, Humbert of Romans reiterated strictures against giving the host to the laity (except in cases of necessity) or receiving parishioners to liturgies or sermons on Sundays or feasts when they should attend their parish churches.⁸ This was despite the privilege

¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 108-14.

² *Speculum Laicorum*, 33-36; *Liber Exemplorum*, 6-14; *Fasciculus Morum*, 412-15; *Catalogue of Romances*, 477-503, nos. 9, 14, 22-32, 34, 50, 72, 80, 262, 297, 303.

³ A noteworthy exception was Durandus, though he was heavily indebted to mendicant scholars. A. Davrit *et al.*, ed., *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Divinorum Officium* (Turnhout, in 3 vols., 1995-2000).

⁴ C.J. Fraser, 'The Religious Instruction of the Laity in Late Medieval England with Particular Reference to the Sacrament of the Eucharist' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1995), 267.

⁵ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 66-68; D. Burr, 'Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74 part 3 (1984); Bonaventure, *Opera* IV, 201-43; R. Bacon, *Opera Inedita*, 144-48, 187-88, 400-01.

⁶ *EEFP*, 327.

⁷ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 213-54; M. O'Carroll, 'Preaching for Easter Sunday from MS Laud Misc. 511: Some of its Codicological and Catechetical Implications', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 45 (2001), 75-88.

⁸ *Annales Monastici* I, 434-35.

given to religious orders by Alexander IV on 30 December 1254, allowing them to receive parishioners to sermons and liturgies at those times:¹ Humbert was being conciliatory to parish clergy. In 1269 the Franciscan order similarly forbade its members from giving the Eucharist to laypeople at Easter without their parish priest's permission.²

Throughout the liturgical year, to judge from Ms. Laud Misc. 511, the sermon's theme was typically the day's Gospel reading, or occasionally other parts of the liturgy of the day: the lectionaries of the Dominican and Sarum uses tended to coincide, so only in a few cases did sermons reflect the Dominican liturgy specifically.³ One cannot argue that this volume was made predominantly for preaching in the Dominican church rather than in parish churches, but the compiler seems to have had at least some such preaching in mind.

The one mendicant service that was designed with the laity in mind was the Dominican Compline service, which culminated in a procession with the singing of the *Salve Regina* and the aspersion of all present with holy water. Hinnebusch pointed out that one of the most successful aspects of making this a public service, whether by accident or design, was that it was held in the evening when the laity were free to come.⁴

The presence of a mendicant church building also offered a locus for devotions that did not directly involve the friars. The Carmelites, who had a strong devotion to the Virgin, appear to have kept a statue of her in a prominent place in their churches, and at least at Aberdeen we can see this as a place where the laity expressed their devotion to her in the thirteenth century.⁵

¹ The bull *Nec insolitum est*: B. van Luijk, *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, 1187-1256* (Wuerzburg, 1964), 96-97.

² F. Ehrle, ed., 'Die ältesten Redactionen der Generalconstitutionen des Franziskanerordens', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 6 (1892), 1-138, at 40.

³ O'Carroll, *Studies*, 117-24, 355-81.

⁴ *EEFP*, 219-22.

⁵ *CiB* III, 165-66.

Friars did not, as a general rule, have any delegated authority to baptise, except perhaps the very occasional convert or at the point of necessity, such as an infant unlikely to survive. Even less likely was the blessing of a marriage. Burial of the laity in mendicant churches was not uncommon, but the proportion of the laity involved was very small. Nonetheless, it tended to provoke an outcry from the secular clergy, for bequests and oblations tended to follow the body, and these were an important source of income for parish clergy or for the institutional rector of appropriated churches. The stakes were raised by the fact that the individuals whose bodies, in whole or part, were buried in mendicant churches tended to be wealthy benefactors, such as Richard de Gray of Codnor, who introduced the Carmelites into England in 1242 and was probably buried at their friary at Aylesford.¹ Pastoral care was administered to them, and to other benefactors, *post mortem* in the form of prayers for their souls, just as in parish churches and monastic houses.²

One of the times that laypeople were to confess was during illness, particularly if death was believed to be approaching.³ Injunctions of bishops to the parish clergy suggest that not all were as diligent in visiting the sick as they might have been.⁴ Friars helped to fill this gap, and would likely have been sought out if a secular priest were unavailable, such as during regular absences at diocesan synods and archidiaconal and ruridecanal chapters and courts.⁵ Visiting the sick also included bearing the consecrated host to the patient, and might involve anointing with oil of unction, especially as death appeared to draw near. Records of actual occurrences are rare.⁶ While it is impossible to measure the impact of friars in this area, their availability would likely have drawn them into action from time to

¹ MCHW, 8.

² Goering, 'Popularization', 108-09.

³ DEC, 245-46.

⁴ Goering, 'Popularization', 100-01.

⁵ Ehrle, 'Generalconstitutionen des Franziskanerordens', 40.

⁶ There are some *exempla*. These cannot be taken as historical fact, but can be taken as evidence of what the writer thought an audience might believe. *Catalogue of Romances*, 477-503, nos. 25, 45, 47, 58, 62, 73, 78, 245, 291.

time, especially in cases of accident and emergency. As in so much else, availability for visiting the sick would be for the most part geographically conditioned, limited to the immediate environs of the house of friars.

II.6: The Mendicants and the Confessions of the Laity

The mendicants never formed a truly independent penitential system for the laity. Even when friars were appointed as diocesan penitentiaries to settle reserved cases on the bishop's behalf, they were being co-opted into the secular church structure; and some sins required, as a matter of liturgy, theology and canon law, episcopal or even papal absolution. In 1267, Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, confirmed to the Franciscans¹ the right to hear lay confessions, but to pronounce absolution of secret sins only; for public sins requiring public penance, the friars, like parish priests, were obliged to denounce offenders to the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy, which had jurisdiction over such offences.²

Goering has noted that, for the most part, mendicants' rights to administer pastoral care depended upon *ad hoc* privileges granted by bishops and applicable only within their dioceses; therefore, 'a complete study of the authority of the quasi-independent orders would entail a region-by-region and decade-by-decade analysis of their privileges.'³ This will be attempted for the dioceses examined in Part III of this thesis.

Before considering the geography of privileges, however, we should note the chronology of papal privileges in this area, which sometimes trumped local jurisdiction and sometimes empowered bishops and parish priests to permit or prohibit friars to hear lay confessions.

The Dominicans arrived in England already allowed to hear lay confessions. The beginnings of lay confession to Franciscans are murkier, especially because they originated as a mostly lay order and therefore only the confessions of the brethren are discussed in the *Regula Bullata* of 1223. The Franciscan Rule prohibited preaching

¹ Only the letter to the custodian and guardian of the Franciscans of York is entered in Giffard's register, but it was presumably the representative of similar letters to the other mendicant orders.

² J. Raine, ed., *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (RS 61, 1873), 9-10.

³ Goering, 'Popularization', 103.

without the local bishop's permission,¹ and confession was doubtless treated the same way; the loss of episcopal records for the 1220s and 1230s means that one cannot clearly identify the state of each diocese. Episcopal support for foundations presumably coincided with support for pastoral activity, but as friars seem to have been active in an area before they settled there, a lack of mendicant convents need not reflect a lack of episcopal support or pastoral activity.²

Below the bishops, many in the secular ecclesiastical establishment in the thirteenth century, from parish priests to university scholars, as well as members of the older regular orders, perceived the friars as a threat on several levels, leading to protracted and sometimes bitter arguments over all aspects of mendicant life.³ At the local level, despite some *causes-célèbres*, there seems to have been general co-operation,⁴ so most of these do not concern us, but several bulls clarify, at least in theory, the canonical position of the friars as confessors. Innocent IV's *Etsi animarum* (1254), applicable to Franciscans and Dominicans alike, reaffirmed that friars could not hear the confessions of parishioners or preach to them in the parish church without their parish priest's permission.⁵ The fact that the friars perceived this as an assault on their privileges suggests that, despite the bull's simple restatement of official policy, they had been shriving parishioners and entering parochial pulpits over the objections of parish priests but with the general support of the bishops.⁶ Parish clergy who were unsympathetic, or who understandably feared the diversion of their sometimes meagre revenues to the friars, now had a papal privilege upon which to call. It did them little good: Innocent IV was soon replaced by Alexander IV, who promptly rescinded the bull in favour of the *status quo ante*,⁷ but

¹ *Reg. Bull.*, IX.

² See II.2 above.

³ See, *inter alia*, Little, *Studies*, 92-157.

⁴ *EEFP*, 328.

⁵ Little, *Studies*, 110-12, citing Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum Supplementum*, 259.

⁶ Little, *Studies*, 111-12.

⁷ Little, *Studies*, 112.

for our purposes it is helpful as a landmark in the fog. Despite continued objections to the mendicants, papal and general episcopal support for the friars in their pastoral ministry remained strong.¹

The last quarter of the century saw dramatic changes. The bull *Ad fructus uberes* (1281) removed the friars from any secular ecclesiastical control below the Pope; bishops and priests were not permitted to impede the Franciscans or Dominicans in their pastoral ministry in any way.² The opponents of the friars protested vociferously and, despite the papal privilege, actively opposed the friars. English friars – at least those in the Province of Canterbury – were fortunate to have the Franciscan John Pecham as archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, and he acted as a forceful protector of mendicant privilege, albeit biased towards his own order.³ Even in his own diocese he was obliged in 1287 to counter rumours that friars had no power to absolve without licence of the parish priest.⁴ Nonetheless, the friars did not have power to absolve excommunicates and other reserved cases, as they themselves acknowledged: Pecham complained that solemn penance seemed to be disappearing (*quasi in oblivionem tradita*),⁵ and when in 1297 his (secular) successor Winchelsey strongly reminded Thomas Jorz OP, the English Provincial Prior, of these limitations, Jorz responded in agreement and promised to enforce the limitation.⁶ Archbishop Giffard's similar letter has been seen above.

Greater balance was achieved in 1300 by Boniface VIII in his uncharacteristically tactful bull *Super cathedram*. Under its terms, friars could not preach in a place when the local priest was preaching; they could only preach in parish churches by the permission of the

¹ C&S II, 480, 595-96, 706; but cf. *ibid.* 415.

² *Bull. Fr.* III, 480; Little, *Studies*, 113; Gratien de Paris, *Histoire de la Fondation et l'Évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIII^e siècle* (Rome, 1982), 337-54.

³ J.J. Smith, *The Attitude of John Pecham toward Monastic Houses* (Washington, DC, 1949), 131.

⁴ *Epist. Pecham* III, 952-53; cf. a similar mandate to the dean of St. Paul's three months later, *ibid.*, 956-57; see also Little, *Studies*, 113n.

⁵ C&S II, 899-900.

⁶ *Reg. Winchelsey* 187-89. Jorz gently suggested, however, that the bishops should not believe everything they heard: *EEFP* 509-11.

priest, though the bishop could commission a friar to preach and thus overrule the parish priest;¹ confessors must first be approved by their orders and then be presented to the bishop to be licensed to hear confessions in his diocese, their number proportional to the needs of the population; if a bishop categorically refuses to license friars as confessors, his refusal is illegitimate and friars may proceed to shrive by apostolic authority; and finally, the friars must hand over one quarter of all bequests to the parish priest of the deceased.²

Not all disagreements with the parish clergy were over loss of funds, however. Also in dispute was the significant pastoral question of the amount of penance to enjoin. Parish clergy repeatedly complained that the friars assigned penances that were too light. Rather than denying the charge, the friars justified the practice, partly on the theological grounds that true contrition – which they attempted to induce both in their sermons³ and in confession itself⁴ – was more important than works of satisfaction;⁵ and partly because the doctrine of purgatory being developed by mendicants allowed for excess satisfaction to be left to the hereafter.⁶ The letters of Archbishops Giffard and Winchelsey, spelling out the canonical position that was theoretically in force everywhere, suggest that their prescription was not being adhered to rigidly: the same complaint was still being made in the mid-fourteenth century secular confessors' manual *Memoriale Presbiterorum*.⁷ Part of the problem may have been the vague borderline of those semi-private, semi-public sins known to one's

¹ The Dominican Prior General Humbert of Romans had urged such co-operation with parish clergy in a letter of 1258: *Annales Monastici* I, 435.

² *Bull. Fr.* IV, 498-500; see also *DEC*, 365-69; Little, *Studies*, 114-16; Gratien, *Histoire*, 354-59; Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 230-43.

³ See II.4 above.

⁴ E.g. Brother Galfridus of Salisbury: *De Adventu*, 63.

⁵ *EEFP* 323-24; E. Reiter, ed., *Stella Clericorum* (Toronto, 1997), 24n; *Fasciculus Morum*, 494-97; W.H. Campbell, 'Theologies of Reconciliation in Thirteenth-Century England', *SCH* 40 (2004), 84-94; Bonaventure, *Opera* IV, 532-33, and V, 531-32; C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars* (London, 1994), 161.

⁶ R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 36-38, 196; C. Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented': An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England", in S. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People* (London, 1988), 56-79; J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984).

⁷ M. Haren, *Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England: A Study of the Memoriale Presbiterorum* (Oxford, 2000), 161-62, 185-89.

intimates but not one's neighbours, for Mansfield has shown that divisions between public and private in penitential theory and practice were never clearly defined.¹

A second difference between mendicant and secular confessing may have been the amount of attention given to issues of the local community: while the parish priest could be deeply connected to his parish and very aware of the undercurrents of local society, an itinerant friar would be inherently less so, though the difference might well be negligible in the immediate neighbourhood of his friary.² Finally, a parish priest might have been pressed for time in hearing the confessions of his parishioners at busy seasons, especially early in Lent; if extensive moral and spiritual counsel was to be given along the lines discussed by Alexander Murray,³ and more attention given to smaller, quotidian sins, a friar might take a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach and thus make more time to listen. While this last potential difference between mendicant and secular shriving was not a direct cause of disputes, it may have been a factor in the attraction of the mendicants as confessors.

Confessions were not generally recorded acts,⁴ so less can be known about them; but it is important to enquire how confession functioned, based on instructional literature produced and circulated within the Dominican and Franciscan orders themselves, and in particular to seek for differences in theory and practice between these two orders. This would seem to be the first attempt to address the latter question broadly.⁵ In order to assay this task, we will examine

¹ M.C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners* (Ithaca, NY, 1995). As an interesting sidelight on the geography of pastoral care, Mansfield noted that 'we find the English guarding the privacy of penitents more strenuously than did the French; they drew the circle of protection more closely around the individual. The French bishops were concerned for a man's reputation among his neighbors, but not so much for his standing among intimates.' (89-90).

² Haren, *Sin and Society*, 187; Campbell, 'Theologies of Reconciliation'; see also I.6 and I.7 above.

³ A. Murray, 'Counselling in Medieval Confession', in *Handling Sin*, 63-77.

⁴ See I.6 on some exceptions.

⁵ For the different schools of thought between the orders on the moral theology of mercantile economics, which could affect confession, see O. Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools* (Leiden, 1992), and *The Merchant in the Confessional* (Leiden, 2003). Although his conclusions are too complex to be discussed here – except to note that Franciscan authors seem to have given much more space in their writings to the subject –, any major comparative study of confession between the

one work from each order, both produced by English friars, both unpublished and hitherto outside the mainstream of scholarly discussion. Only tentative and preliminary observations can therefore be made here; it is much to be hoped that future scholarship will establish more fully whether, and to what extent, each order had its own school of thought and practice in hearing the confessions of the laity.

A. Dominicans

The hearing of the confessions of the laity became part of the Dominicans' pastoral remit six months before their arrival in England in 1221, and numerous works were soon being written by Dominican scholars to instruct their fellows.¹ The most influential and enduring of these was Raymund of Peñaforte's *Summa de Casibus Penitentiae*, which had reached quasi-official status by mid-century.² As with other directives from on high, it tended to be mediated to practising pastors through intermediary works. A Dominican master of students' partial and annotated copy, BL Additional Manuscript 30,508, would doubtless repay further study in this respect.³ Another such mediatory text is the popular mid-century *Speculum Iuniorum* apparently written outside the university milieu by a Dominican conventual lector around 1250, based heavily on Peñaforte's *summa* but blending moral theology from many sources with Peñaforte's

mendicant orders will find these works fruitful. Langholm also implicitly acknowledges a geography of moral theology by treating separately Italian and non-Italian authors in *The Merchant*. Further studies of this sort on specific moral questions will probably be needed before a more integrated understanding of Franciscan and Dominican schools of penitential thought can emerge. Another comparison, albeit very short, was made by Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 72-73, though this particular point should probably be dismissed for the thirteenth century: her Franciscan representative, the 'Formula Confessionis' attributed to Pecham, appears to have been the work of Giovanni Rigaldi OFM (d. 1323): Sharpe, *Handlist*, 296. Further points of comparison could doubtless be extrapolated from published sources, not to mention the numerous unpublished *Sentences* commentaries.

¹ Right to hear confessions: M. Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study* (Toronto, 1998), 53. On instructional literature, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 193-217; L. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981), chapters II and III; A. Teetaert, *La Confession aux Laïques dans l'Église Latine* (Louvain, 1926), *passim*; Langholm, *Merchant in the Confessional*, 32-65, 122-37; P. Michaud-Quantin, 'Deux Formulaires pour la Confession du Milieu du XIII^e siècle', *RTAM* 31 (1964), 43-62.

² *EEFP*, 335; Peñaforte, *Summa*.

³ Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 200-03; see also II.3 above.

canonical learning and other canonical sources.¹ The contemporary popularity of this work is attested by twelve extant manuscripts, all of which were copied in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.²

The first one-third (Book I) of the *Speculum Iuniorum* is concerned with evil (*De malo*) in the same sense that a pathologist's textbook is concerned with disease.³ Book II, *De bono*, begins with a lengthy discussion of the nature of good(s),⁴ before turning to the sacraments, discussed both collectively and individually. Ten folios in the Bodley manuscript deal with the mass, a subject of perennial theological discussion; but the section *De penitencia* is more than twice as long, suggesting that, to the author, this was the practical focus of his pastoral treatise.⁵

Like many other thirteenth-century writers on confession, the anonymous Dominican grappled with several important questions. First, it had been asserted in the eleventh century and widely accepted in the twelfth⁶ that forgiveness of sins comes at the moment of true contrition – even if this precedes confession, works of satisfaction, or the pronouncing of absolution by a priest.⁷ In part, this was a response to the question of what happened to someone's soul if he died truly repentant but without the opportunity to confess or do penance. The theoretical problem this posed, however – and also a practical one in answering this question when raised by the laity – was: if contrition is what reconciles man to God, why must one confess and do penance? Second, should a priest diligently follow the

¹ Goering, 'Popularization', is the only available study of this work, which remains unpublished, though Professor Goering has been working on an edition since the time of his thesis. When complete, this edition will be of great interest to scholars of pastoral care. In the meantime, I am very grateful to him for providing me with a copy of his annotated typescript of the work as it appears in Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 655, fols. 1-141, a copy written at Osney Abbey, Oxford, in 1302-03.

² Goering, 'Popularization', 190, 243-44.

³ Ms. Bodley 655 fols. 1-40r. Fols. 40v-61v are another work interspersed between the two books of the *Speculum Iuniorum*.

⁴ Ms. Bodley 655 fols. 62r-78r.

⁵ Ms. Bodley 655 fols. 81v-91r and 91v-112r, respectively.

⁶ It was not universally accepted, however: the Victorines emphasised the sacerdotal power of the keys, and thus the debate continued. P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XIIIe siècle* (Louvain, 1949).

⁷ S. Hamilton, 'Penance in the Age of Gregorian Reform', *SCH* 40 (2004), 47-73; Anciaux, *Sacrement de Pénitence*.

tariffed penances of older manuals; should he mitigate them as his judgement on the spot directs; or should he create penances entirely of his own devising designed to fit the particular penitent, sin and circumstance? Closely related to this question is the argument mentioned above between seculars and friars over the harshness of penance. Finally, is it necessary to confess all of one's sins to a priest, or only mortal sins?

The *Speculum Iuniorum* explained that 'contrition is sorrow adopted for sins, with the intent to confess and make satisfaction'.¹ This was a neat, and common, answer to the question. But *contricio* was not the only word in the lexicon of penance that needed clarification. A few folios later, the reader is told that 'blushing in confession is the greater part of satisfaction'.² If blushing, and the sorrow it was presumed to represent, formed the greater part of satisfaction, how might this affect the relative gravity of the penances imposed by a Dominican using this text?

'Regarding this, there are two opinions.'³ The author passed briefly over the first, that the priest should measure out all penances based on the circumstances of sin and sinner. The second, that penances should be assigned based on canon law in applicable cases, is safer, but more difficult, as it requires sufficient knowledge of canon law.⁴ At first glance this suggests that the Dominican author took a hard and conservative line, but he only devotes the next two folios in the Bodley manuscript⁵ to giving specific penances, a far cry from the canonical penitentials. Only serious sins such as homicide are treated here: if the author intended this counsel to extend to quotidian sins as well, he has not provided his readers with the resources to apply it.

¹ 'Contricio est dolor pro peccatis assumptus cum proposito confitendi et satisfaciendi.' Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 92v; cf. fols. 92r, 93v. Raymund gave a similar answer but in different terms: Peñaforte, *Summa*, 809-10.

² '...erubescencia in confessione est maior pars satisfactionis.' Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 94r. Cf. Lombard, *Sentences*, 885: 'Confessio peccati pudorem habet, et ipsa erubescencia est gravis poena', adapted in the *Speculum Iuniorum* to 'tamen pudor in confessione, sit magna pars satisfaccionis' (fol. 98r).

³ 'Super hoc, sunt due opiniones.' Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 106v.

⁴ Ms. Bodley 655 fols. 106v-107r.

⁵ Fols. 107, 108.

The *Speculum Iuniorum* answered separately the questions of the quantity of penance (what has just been discussed) and the quality of penance. Following in the tradition of Gregory the Great and his predecessors,¹ the Dominican is advised:

[T]he priest ought always to enjoin penance in opposition to the sin. For the proud, works of humility, such as to visit the sick ... For the envious, works of charity and benignity, such as to love enemies, pray for persecutors, do good to those who hate ... For the wrathful, works of gentleness and mildness, first seeking pardon from those against whom he had previously raged; bending the knee, washing feet ...²

And so on through the seven sins. This discussion occupies only one side of a folio, but its brevity points the way for the Dominican confessor and then allows him almost infinite leeway, calling upon his discretion, wisdom and creativity in assigning penances according to the characteristics of the sinner – for the seven sins are more about attitude than action. It is here, it would seem, that the emphasis on contrition would have the most effect.

If the large majority of sins confessed were venial, the Dominican confessor was tacitly advised to create penances on the spot for almost all of what he would hear. One should not assume that laypeople never bothered to confess venial sins; confessors' manuals give much more space to mortal ones, but this seems to be a matter of relative complexity, and could even suggest that venial sins were confessed so commonly that the priest would be well-versed in addressing them, while rarer mortal sins required a reference work. However, long tradition in the Latin Church asserted that a layman could expiate venial sins by other means, without auricular confession to a priest, means such as attending mass, saying the general confession, and other pious activities, including confession to a fellow

¹ T.C. Oden, *Care of Souls in the Classic Tradition* (Philadelphia, PA, 1985).

² '[D]ebet semper sacerdos iniungere penitentiam per contrarium respondentem peccato. Superbo, opera humilitatis, ut visitare infirmos [...] Invidio, opera caritatis, et benignitatis, ut diligere inimicos, orare pro persequentibus, benefacere odientibus [...] Iracundo, opera mansuetudinis et lenietatis, prius veniam petere ab eo cui prius irascebatur, genua flectere, pedes lavare'. Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 106v.

layman.¹ According to Teetaert, some thirteenth-century mendicants began to undermine the foundations of this last practice, however: for the Franciscans, their first Paris lector, Alexander of Hales,² and for the Dominicans, Raymund of Peñaforte.³ Raymund admitted that certain acts, including the general confession in the mass, ‘delete’ venial sins. He did not mention confession to a layman.⁴ Although Raymund added that his list was not exhaustive,⁵ the omission of this practice may have been intentional. Raymund also advised that it is more prudent and certain to confess everything, even venial sins, to a priest, because he has the power of binding and loosing.⁶ The *Speculum Iuniorum* gave the same advice.⁷ However, when the Oxford Dominican Richard Fishacre gave a slightly longer list of acts deleting venial sin in his commentary on Lombard’s *Sentences*, he specifically included ‘mutual confession’.⁸

Both Raymund and the *Speculum Iuniorum* followed and quoted the Fourth Lateran Council’s mandate that the faithful should confess *all* their sins, adding that for a confession to be *integra*, whole, one should confess all of one’s sins to the same priest, not some to one and some to another.⁹ Since the Fourth Lateran Council, predating widespread mendicant pastoral care, mandated in the same canon that each layperson confess to his or her *own* priest (*proprius sacerdos*), Raymund, followed by the *Speculum*, explained carefully why friars had the right to hear laypeople’s confessions.¹⁰ Thus the *Speculum Iuniorum* encouraged the laity to confess all their sins, including venial ones, but discouraged confessing some of them to a

¹ This tradition is examined in considerable detail in Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*.

² Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*, 295-300.

³ Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*, 354-56.

⁴ Peñaforte, *Summa*, 864-65.

⁵ Peñaforte, *Summa*, 865.

⁶ Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*, 354-56; Peñaforte, *Summa*, 816-17.

⁷ Peñaforte, *Summa*, 816-17; Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 95v.

⁸ ‘mutua confessione’. R.J. Long, ed., ‘The Moral and Spiritual Theology of Richard Fishacre: Edition of Trinity Coll. MS O.1.30’, *AFP* 60 (1990), 5-143, at 139-40. Fishacre’s *Sentences* commentary is in the process of being edited. It appeared in 1240: R.J. Long, ‘Fishacre, Richard (d. 1248)’, *ODNB*.

⁹ *DEC* 245; Peñaforte, *Summa*, 820-21; Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 97r.

¹⁰ Peñaforte, *Summa*, 811-14; Ms. Bodley 655 fols. 94v-95r. The *Speculum* follows a different line of argument from Peñaforte’s to the same conclusion: friars may hear confessions.

friar and some to one's parish priest by dividing them up. However, it did not specifically discourage confessing several times a year to a friar (regular confession is encouraged) but to one's own parish priest during Lent.¹ This practice is assumed by the diocesan statutes of Winchester (ca. 1247):

Item, because of the religion of the Friars Preachers and Minors and the profit to souls, we decree that it is permitted to the faithful to go to them to receive penance whenever they wish, except in Lent, and even then if licence has been sought from [their] own priest and the accustomed oblations have been given to [their] own church.²

This mixed practice would allow the laity the benefits of confessing to friars, while reassuring their parish priests, who had the right to withhold Easter communion from a parishioner whom they did not believe to have confessed and made full satisfaction.

B. Franciscans

There is little literature on confession to Franciscans in England in the thirteenth century. One reason that English Dominicans have been studied more in this respect (albeit far from completely) must be the better documentary survival, as we have seen in the context of preaching. Once again we will give more attention to the Franciscans, not because the Dominicans are less deserving but to address some of the imbalance in the current literature.

Only two English Franciscans are known to have written works dedicated to the subject of confession³ during the thirteenth century.¹

¹ Ms. Bodley 655 fol. 94v, 96v; Peñaforte, *Summa*, cols. 819-20.

² 'Item, propter religionem fratrum predicatorum et minorum et lucrum animarum statuimus ut liceat fidelibus accedere ad eos ad accipiendam penitentiam quandocumque voluerint extra Quadragesimam, et tunc etiam requisita licentia proprii sacerdotis, solutis proprie ecclesie oblationibus consuetis.' *C&S* II, 415.

³ That is, works either wholly or substantially on the subject; the sacrament of penance was addressed by academics in longer works, as for instance in Alexander of Hales' *Sentences* commentary (Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (Quaracchi, in 4 vols., 1951-1957), IV, 253-385) and his *Summa Theologiae* (Lyons, in 4 vols., 1515-1516). Despite his origins, I am not counting Alexander as an English friar because he spent almost all of his time after joining the order teaching at Paris. However, for further studies of thirteenth-century Franciscan approaches to confession and penance, the works of Alexander of Hales must remain a key source; it is very likely that they occupied a prominent position in English Franciscan libraries well before the end

The first is Adam Marsh, whose work is apparently lost.² Close examination of his letters, the only extant source likely to tell of his pastoral theology, shows acute interest in pastoral care as a whole but reveals nothing of his thoughts on penance specifically.³ The other work is John of Wales' *Summa de Penitencia*. Extant in some twenty-four manuscripts and one seventeenth-century printing,⁴ it has nonetheless attracted almost no scholarly attention to date beyond the purely bibliographic.⁵ Jenny Swanson has established a relative chronology for some of John's works for preachers, but as the *Summa de Penitencia* was not examined, she ventures no hypothesis on whether he wrote it while at Oxford or after he went to Paris in the later 1260s.⁶ The sources he cited – the Bible and the twelfth-century pseudo-Augustinian *De Vera et Falsa Penitentia* are favourites, along with the *Vitae Patrum*, Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis* and Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* – are too venerable to provide obvious clues.⁷ Careful comparison with 'secondary sources' of his day may reveal a dependence on a dateable thirteenth-century source or sources, but John's character as a vast and independent reader and collector, as seen in his numerous collections of *exempla* for preachers, makes this highly unlikely. Only one manuscript, British Library Ms. Royal 10.A.ix, has been studied here, but examination of all the manuscripts and construction of a *stemma codicum* may give

of the century. On his works in general, several of which (including both of the above) seem to have been team and not individual efforts, see K.B. Osborne, 'Alexander of Hales', in *idem*, ed., *The History of Franciscan Theology* (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), 1-38, at 5-18; on confession, see T.J. Jarosz, 'Sacramental penance in Alexander of Hales' *Glossa*, *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969), 302-47.

¹ The attribution of the verses on penance in *Epist. Pecham III*, cxviii-cxx is spurious: *Tractatus Tres*, 12. The 'Formula Confessionis' which A.G. Little accepted as his (*Studies*, 120-21) is also now considered misattributed: Sharpe, *Handlist*, 296.

² Sharpe, *Handlist*, 18.

³ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 77-489.

⁴ J. Swanson, *John of Wales* (Cambridge, 1989), 229-89 *passim*; Sharpe, *Handlist*, 339. Swanson's list must be amended: for BL Ms. Royal 10.D.iv read BL Ms. Royal 4.D.iv.

⁵ It is discussed briefly in B. Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), 319-20.

⁶ Swanson, *John of Wales*, 4-14; J. Swanson, 'Wales, John of', *ODNB*. John died in 1285.

⁷ The 'Summa de casibus libro tercio' mentioned on ms. cit., fol. 2r must refer to the last part of Peñaforte, *Summa*, the last part of a trilogy; but the dating of John's death in 1285 would have made a date before 1235, when the revised version of the *Summa de Casibus* appeared, unlikely in any case.

some indication of whether manuscripts of English or French provenance have any clear claim to closer relationship to the original.

Based on current knowledge, the most logical hypothesis for dating the work would place it in the 1260s, while he was still at Oxford; this is important, as it would allow for greater actual influence for the work in thirteenth-century England. The hypothesis is made on the following considerations:

The lack of *exempla* drawn from pagan antiquity¹ – though John drew many *exempla* from the *Vitae Patrum* and, in at least one case, from Bede² – suggests that this is a very early work of his, preceding the flourishing of his classical studies and possibly even his entry into the Franciscan order, for he was already a Bachelor of Theology when he took the grey habit in or by 1258. Moreover, the limited number of his sources in comparison with those in his *exempla* collections suggests a date preceding them, and the fact that all are standard sources that even a provincial mendicant library might be expected to have suggests the work of a young theologian. However, the tone of the introduction makes it more likely that it was written after he joined the order, for it was specifically written for ‘younger preachers’,³ as was the Dominican *Speculum Iuniorum*. Although it may be rhetorical flourish, this passage justifying its composition likewise suggests an early date: no-one at all, John claimed, had previously compiled a brief work from the sources upon which he will draw in order to make them handy for younger preachers.⁴ Considering how quickly such works were appearing on all sides, this statement could hardly have been made without absurdity towards the end of his life. He would have been exposed to still more of these works after moving to Paris in the late 1260s, amplifying this problem. The closer one places it to the earliest known date of John’s membership of the

¹ He did make occasional use of the letters of Seneca, e.g. on ms. cit., fol. 45v.

² Ms. cit., fol. 54r.

³ ‘iuniores predicatorum’: ms. cit., fol. 2r.

⁴ ‘Nichilominus ut premissum est aliqua breviter ex dictis predictorum scriptorum propter iuniores predicatorum colligantur ac [*sic* for ‘ut’?] in promptu habeantur.’ Ms. cit., fol. 2r. A slightly different text, presumably quoted from the 1673 printing, is given in Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 319n.

Franciscan order, 1258, the less anachronistic the statement becomes and the better the characteristics of the work fit into the development of John's reading and abilities.

Comparison of John's *Summa de Penitencia* with the *Speculum Iuniorum* is possible on some matters but by no means all.¹ The *Speculum*'s main source on confession is Peñaforte's canon-law *Summa*, which is supplemented by other canon-law texts. Although John mentioned several such texts in the introduction to his *Summa*, he does not appear to have used them in the body of the text:² this fact contrasts with several of his works for preachers, which again suggests an early date of composition.³ John appears unconcerned with the questions of mortal and venial sins and of sins reserved for episcopal absolution; indeed, he only discusses sin in general, not sins in particular. His aim was to give a theological and theoretical framework, and his choice of sources, none of them very recent, resulted in a work with little reference to the key debates of his day. There is little in his *Summa* that could not have been written in 1200 or earlier, although most works on penance before that date were more interested in canon law and tariffed penances than in general theological discussion.⁴

The main concern of the work is the assignation of penances appropriate to the sinner's condition in such a way as to lead him to virtue; as John put it, 'so that the priest, who is the *medicus*, may apply suitable medicine.'⁵ As such, the discussion of the three traditional means of satisfaction – fasting, prayer and almsgiving –

¹ While some parts of the text have been transcribed and the whole of the work has been surveyed, not every word has been read. It may be that a full transcription will overturn some of my observations here; these are based in part on the improbability of certain subjects being treated in random parts of the work when they were not even mentioned in the logical place for their discussion. The manuscript, which has suffered moderate fire-damage (mostly shrinkage and occasional splitting of the parchment in the top third of the page), is in a clear fourteenth-century Gothic semiquadrata hand, but as it has been examined on microfilm, the distorted and occasionally smoke-stained areas are not entirely legible.

² However, he did refer the reader to Peñaforte, *Summa* on the subject of contrition in general: ms. cit., fol. 14v.

³ Swanson, *John of Wales*, 36.

⁴ L. Boyle, 'Summae Confessorum', in *Les Genres Littéraires dans les Sources Médiévales* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), 227-37.

⁵ 'Ut ergo sacerdos qui est medicus apponat congrua medicamenta'. Ms. cit., fol. 19v.

occupies the second half of the work. But rather than offering applied direction on enjoining these activities on penitents, they are discussed under such headings as these:

- [fol. 26v] On fasting. [seven points, including:]
 - 5. On the excellence and worthiness of fasting.
 - 7. On the observance of fasting at various [liturgical] seasons.
- [fol. 33r] On prayer. [fourteen points, including:]
 - 3. On various manners of praying.
 - 10. On the Lord's Prayer and its parts.
 - 13. On the necessity and manifold usefulness of prayer.
- [fol. 46r] On almsgiving. [twelve points, including:]
 - 2. On the necessity and obligation [of] almsgiving.
 - 5. On the manner in which it is to be done.
 - 12. On its usefulness.¹

This is hardly promising ground for a young Franciscan trying to determine how many prayers he should assign to a penitent confessing that she seldom attended mass (a case of sloth), or how much fasting to a contrite glutton. On the other hand, even juridical works such as Raymund's *Summa* or Robert of Flamborough's *Liber Penitentialis*² did not give calculatory tables for determining penances for such offences, and we have seen that the *Speculum Iuniorum* likewise left most matters to the discretion of the confessor; for quotidian sins, the Franciscan would be no worse off than his Dominican or secular counterpart.

Nonetheless, while most such works give practical guidance on how the circumstances affect the relative gravity of a sin – an important consideration when penances are being weighed and measured on the spot – the chapter in John's *Summa* discussing circumstances is purely theoretical, lacking even the list of questions asked about the circumstances of a sin (with whom, for what reason, how often, etc.) that appears in most thirteenth-century works on

¹ Latin headings, as given on folii listed above of BL Ms. Royal 10.A.IX: Fasting: '5o. de ieiunii excellencia sive dignitate. ... 7o. ... de ieiunii in diversis temporibus celebracione.' Prayer: '3o. de modorum orandi varietate. ... xo. de dominica oracione & eius distinccione. ... 13o. de orationis necessitate & multiplici utilitate.' Almsgiving: '2o. de eleemosinaria . necessitate & obligatione. ... 5o. de modo faciendi. ... xiii. de illius utilitate.'

² Flamborough, *Liber*.

confession. Instead, the penitential forum is contrasted with human courts: while concealing crimes may lead to acquittal in a human court, only full disclosure can bring mercy in the heavenly court; while, according to the Law of God, the testimony of two or three witnesses is required for credence in an earthly court, the testimony of one's own mouth is the only accuser needed in the court of penance.¹ A full 'accounting' (*computacione vel enumeratione*) is thus to be encouraged 'before the vicar and dispensator of [the penitent's] church' (*ante vicarium & dispensatorem ecclesie sue in plena & in vera confessione*).² The penitent should be enabled to make a 'strict computation in a strict examination' (*districta computacione in districto examine*),³ but it is not clear whether this refers to interrogation by the priest or merely the penitent diligently searching his own conscience – a vital question, as a priest asking questions would be actively teaching moral standards.⁴

John did examine whether it was necessary to confess to a priest. He began by noting that many ancient authorities, such as those cited by Peter Lombard⁵ and Hugh of St. Victor,⁶ demonstrated that it suffices to confess to God alone; however, against these he set *auctoritates ad contrarium*, including one of the most often cited biblical references to confession, James 5:16, 'Confess your sins to one another', along with other biblical passages lending themselves to the same effect.⁷ These passages, however, merely promote confessing to someone else, not specifically to a priest. John approached that matter first by setting out the standard topos of sin as wounds requiring medical attention; leaping from a slightly mangled quote

¹ Ms. cit., fol. 22v.

² Ms. cit., fols. 22v-23r.

³ Ms. cit., fols. 22v-23r.

⁴ Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 72-73; P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de Casuistique* (Louvain, 1962), 23-24.

⁵ Lombard, *Sentences*, 880-83, correctly cited by John as IV.17.

⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis Christiane Fidei* (PL CLXXVI, 173-578), II.14.i, again correctly cited (549-54 in PL).

⁷ Including Proverbs 18:17 and 28:13, and Job 31:33. Ms. cit., fols. 18v-19r. This is as close as John came to *sic et non* exposition in the *Summa*.

from Boethius¹ and landing on the well-worn words of Christ to the leper He had cleansed, ‘Go and show yourself to the priest’ (Matthew 8:4), John declared that the priest is the *medicus* who treats the wounds of sin.² Only towards the end of the passage³ did he add that to the priest are committed the keys to bind and loose, strangely, in such a heavily-referenced work, without a note of the source of the commission of the keys (John 21:23).

Tempting as it may be to question the usefulness of John’s *Summa*, the many extant manuscripts testify to a favourable reception. What, then, would the younger Franciscan priest take from it?

Like John of Wales’ preachers’ handbooks, his *Summa de Penitencia* contains a considerable amount of material quoted from original sources, carefully citing author, title, book and chapter in most cases. Most of the quotes in his *Summa* are short, and they often end with ‘&c’: the reader is expected to look up the reference and read its context – another characteristic shared with John’s preachers’ manuals. Here the limited range of his sources would be an asset: a work functioning half as text, half as index would only be fully useful to a friar with ready access to the works cited. Nonetheless, this did not stop John quoting from a vast range of classical sources, some exceedingly rare in his day, in his preachers’ handbooks, which he likewise intended especially for young preachers.⁴

We might also note the similarity of style to his commentary on the Franciscan rule, wherein

He sought simply to explain the sense of the words to those who had professed it. He had in mind young Franciscans especially ... he did not determine the preceptual force of the rule’s statements. Rather, he drew out the spiritual sense of the words. ... He held to simple explanations of the positive meanings of words and expressions, supporting his reflections

¹ Ms. cit., fol. 19v; PL LXIII, 614. This may represent a scribal error in copying John rather than in his source text.

² Ms. cit., fol. 19v.

³ Ms. cit., fol. 20r.

⁴ Swanson, *John of Wales*, 15-17.

with abundant quotes from a variety of sources. He did not quote ... to get thought and authority behind a position. He quoted to bring pregnant reflections into the rich understanding of the rule that he fostered.¹

The resemblance of approach is striking.

Thus far we have examined John of Wales' *Summa de Penitencia* as if it were the only source from which young Franciscans would learn how to hear confessions. John clearly did not intend it to be so: he referred the reader to works he seems scarcely to have used, such as Peñaforte's *Summa*, which would have given much of the sort of guidance that his work lacks. Moreover, it is unlikely that students desiring practical guidance would have found it satisfactory by itself; instead, it would provide 'pregnant reflections' on what young friars learned in lectures and study, presumably in a more applied and terse style. Other than John's recommendations for further reading, what material was being used in independent reading cannot readily be known, though a codicological study of the manuscripts carrying John's *Summa* might show what the original compilers considered useful adjuncts. In the meantime, one might suggest that Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* would have provided a handy and highly condensed counterpart, providing precisely what John's *Summa* lacked and not duplicating what it provided.² Grosseteste's connexions to the Franciscan order may have commended this work to them, while its use by the authors of the *Speculum Iuniorum* and *Fasciculus Morum* demonstrates that mendicants read it.³

Henry of Wodstone OFM, John of Wales' contemporary at Oxford, reworked the *Summa de Sacramentis* of Simon of Hinton OP with considerable amounts of Bonaventure's writing, resulting in his own *Summa de Sacramentis* completed in 1261; this presumably

¹ D. Flood, ed., *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary* (Weisbaden, 1972), 100-01.

² *Templum*.

³ Goering, 'Popularization', 218, and Goering's notes on his typescript of Ms. Bodley 655; *Fasciculus Morum*, 357-61.

reflects the content of his lectures on the *Sentences*.¹ Henry probably returned to the Salisbury convent as lector after completing his studies at Oxford, so his *Summa* likely also reflects what he then taught his fellow Franciscans there.² The work is extant in a single manuscript which seems to have been part of the pastoral *vademecum* of John of Stamford OFM before he became archbishop of Dublin in 1284,³ so its brief section on penance apparently served as a Franciscan confessor's *vademecum*.

Henry put much more emphasis on the power of the keys than did John of Wales, describing priests as arbitrators between offended God and offending man. He also identified the two keys as power and knowledge – the first the authority to pronounce, the second the knowledge to identify sins and treat them properly.⁴ Contrition is treated more lightly, described as a prerequisite without which absolution gave no benefit⁵ and as a combination of hating past sins, ceasing from present sins, and avoiding future sins.⁶ Quoting Augustine via Lombard's *Sentences*,⁷ Henry argued that doing penance⁸ at the point of death – a matter which had effected the question of contrition alone bringing absolution – was doubtful (*dubia*), not secure (*securus*) like that undertaken in health.⁹

Like John of Wales, Henry insisted that the penitent make a complete confession with all circumstances before the judge, the

¹ R.J. Mokry, 'An Edition and Study of Henry Wodestone's *Summa de Sacramentis*' (PhD thesis, Heythrop College, University of London, 1997); Sharpe, *Handlist*, 176; B. Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), 318-19. The connection to Hinton was recognised by Roest. Mokry (p. 45) calculates that 48% of Henry's text consists of direct quotes from Bonaventure.

² Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 18, 25.

³ The manuscript is Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 2, fols. 132r-167v: Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 29-30, 140. At approximately 70mm by 110 mm, this tiny volume was almost certainly meant for travel.

⁴ Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 216.

⁵ Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 216.

⁶ Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 214.

⁷ Lombard, *Sentences*, book IV distinction 20 chapter 1 (col. 892), quoting Augustine, *Sermones*, sermo 393 (PL 39, 1714-15).

⁸ 'Age penitentiam', which by the thirteenth century could mean repenting, undertaking satisfaction, or going through the whole sacramental procedure of confession and penance. The last was the most common interpretation.

⁹ Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 213-14.

priest;¹ he also included the three traditional methods of satisfaction: fasting, prayer and almsgiving.² While John devoted over twenty folios to considering these, Henry allowed himself seventy-nine words (not counting the rubric): this was precisely the sort of text that might make a young Franciscan hunger for the richer treatment of John's *Summa*.

Collections of *exempla* are another source for the historian. The *Liber Exemplorum*, compiled in the 1270s, includes a rather fantastical story about confession: a certain friar on the road one night perceived that he was being pursued by a monstrous demon which was coming to devour him because of a certain sin. In contrition and terror, the friar (strangely travelling without a *socius*) cried out to God for forgiveness. The demon did not disappear, but it did not catch up with him either. Upon entering a town in the morning, the friar immediately sought out the priest and confessed the sin: only then did the demon vanish.³ Lester Little has logically interpreted this to mean that confession to God directly is legitimate and appropriate at the point of necessity, but confession to a priest is necessary for full absolution.⁴

Similarly revealing is the Franciscan preachers' handbook *Fasciculus Morum*, dated to 1298 x 1307.⁵ *Fasciculus Morum* is arranged in sections on the seven deadly sins, each explaining why the sin is to be detested and how contrasting virtues are to be practised. By far the longest chapter is that on confession, presented (along with using the seven virtues to fight the three enemies, the world, the flesh and the Devil) as an antidote to *accidia*, spiritual sloth.⁶ The *exempla* in *Fasciculus Morum* are part of a running text

¹ Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 215.

² Mokry, 'Wodestone's *Summa*', 216.

³ *Liber Exemplorum*, 51-53.

⁴ L.K. Little, 'Les techniques de la confession et la confession comme technique', in *Faire Croire : Modalités de la Diffusion et la Réception des Messages Religieux du XIIIe au Xve siècle* (École Française de Rome, 1981), 87-99.

⁵ *Fasciculus Morum*; Wenzel, *Verses*, 29.

⁶ *Fasciculus Morum*, 398-625.

containing pastoral and theological matter. Its chapter on confession contains instructions regarding confession which could have been used either in preaching or in confession itself. There is also – unlike in John’s and Henry’s *summae* – direct advice to the confessor on circumstances, including one of the many verses in the work:

Who, what, where, with what help, why, how, when.
Orders, place, person, knowledge, and time add weight.
Sex, condition, number, time, opportunity, cause,
And manner and sense of guilt, high status, petty sorrow.¹

Codicologically, the friar carrying the *Fasciculus Morum* therefore had with him a handbook on confession as an integral part of his preaching manual, just as *exempla* and even instructions to preachers are present in John’s *Summa*. Given the close relationship between preaching and confession in mendicant pastoral practice, this would have distinct advantages: a friar preaching on penance could then use the same self-consistent material, rather than a different manual with different schemae and emphases, in hearing the confessions of the laity following his preaching. The narration of *exempla* by the priest in hearing a confession could have been used as part of *ad hominem* moral instruction. John of Wales’ *Summa de Penitencia* is not the only confessor’s manual to contain *exempla*,² nor is *Fasciculus Morum* the only preacher’s handbook to carry information apparently aimed at the confessor.³ Indeed, John advised in his *Summa* that ‘the preacher [should] exhort men to confession by sensible *exempla*’,⁴ presumably intending that some of those

¹ *Fasciculus Morum*, 478-79, using Wenzel’s translation.

² See J. Berlioz, ‘«Quand dire c’est faire dire» : Exempla et confession chez Étienne de Bourbon’, in *Faire Croire* (École Française de Rome, 1981), 299-335.

³ The preacher’s handbook of John of Grimestone, OFM, dating to 1372, includes the following verse in the top margin of a page bearing preaching material on ‘de peccato’:

¶ Quis, quid, ubi, per quos, quotiens, cur, quomodo, quando:

¶ Quilibet observet anime medicamina dando.

(National Library of Scotland, Ms. Advocates 18.7.21, fol. 103r). Though this could have been used in a sermon, it is equally likely that John inserted it for use in hearing confessions.

⁴ ‘predicator hortari homines ad confessionem per exempla sensibilia.’ Ms. cit., fol. 22r. ‘Sensibilia’ here seems to mean ‘believing on evidence of the senses’ (R. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-*

elsewhere in the *Summa* itself would suffice. Although it is historiographically convenient to discuss these as two separate genres,¹ in some cases it is artificial and unhelpful: John's *Summa* and the *Fasciculus Morum* can best be understood as pastor's manuals written for an integrated programme of training others in holiness of life through both penitential preaching and confession.

These are but a few examples of the considerable and varied literature on the sacrament of penance available in thirteenth-century England to friars and seculars alike, ranging from simple tracts to heavy tomes. Some of these could be localised in their influence, such as those appended to episcopal statutes.² Any of these works might have influenced Franciscans hearing the confessions of the laity, adapted if necessary to Franciscan priorities. Based on the foregoing, which will need to be tested and expanded extensively by further scholarship, we may come to one tentative conclusion. The lack of a standard manual on confession among English Franciscans in contrast to Peñaforte's influence over Dominicans, plus the undeniable vagueness of John of Wales' *Summa de Penitencia*, suggests that the defining characteristic (if any) of Franciscan shriving was heterogeneity.

The constitutions of the Franciscan order imposed some standardisation. Unfortunately, the English provincial constitutions are lost; these probably included material on confessions, as do their French counterparts.³ The earliest complete⁴ general constitutions are

List (London, 1999), 433), emphasising the visceral response to *exempla* for which a preacher might hope.

¹ See, for instance, Boyle's subdivisions of *pastoralia* in 'Summae Confessorum', 231.

² C&S II, 1060-77; J. Goering and D. Taylor, 'The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe and Peter Quinel', *Speculum* 67 (1992), 576-94.

³ A.G. Little, ed., 'Provincial Constitutions of the Minorite Order: Constitutions of the Province of France', *EHR* 17 (1902), 512-18.

⁴ Fragmentary remains of the earlier (1239?) constitutions include only one note on penance, repeated in 1260: friars could not cause the penitent to give alms to any particular person or place nor to the friars specifically. C. Cenci, ed., 'De Fratrum Minorum Constitutiones Praenarbonensis', *AFH* 83 (1990), 50-95, at 89.

those of Narbonne (1260).¹ Circumstances of sin and sinner are to be considered in assigning penances to a fellow friar; presumably this was assumed to transfer to hearing lay confessions.² No friar-priest was allowed to hear confessions without licence first from his provincial minister and then from the bishop or parish priest of the penitent.³ This was still in place after the General Chapter at Assisi in 1279, but *Ad fructus uberes* (1281) permitted a change: either at the General Chapter at Paris in 1292 or one of those preceding it, mention of licence from bishops and priests was struck out.⁴

C. The Question of Female Penitents⁵

The concern with over-familiarity with women shown in the Franciscan rule⁶ appears both in general discussion⁷ and in the context of confession: 'Let no friar, whether for hearing a confession or for any other reason, stand or sit next to a woman, except where he and his *socius* can see one another. And let all friars beware of the lengthy talks of women.'⁸ Although the latter sentence may have been intended as a separate precept to avoid gossips, it was probably read as an injunction to keep women's confessions short, at least shorter than some female penitents wanted, possibly putting their souls at risk. Even a sympathetic and highly self-disciplined Franciscan might have been limited by the judgement of a more prudish *socius*, for the

¹ M. Bihl, ed., 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis Edita in Capitulis Generalibus Celebratis Narbonae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292', *AFH* 34 (1941), 13-94, 284-358.

² Bihl, 'Statuta', 83.

³ Bihl, 'Statuta', 70.

⁴ Bihl, 'Statuta', 74. The General Chapter of 1282 did not revoke change this clause, presumably agreeing that the bull overrode it automatically; it did, however, clarify that it did not extend to absolving in reserved cases, except by specific episcopal commission: F. Ehrle, 'Die ältesten Redactionen der Generalconstitutionen des Franziskanerordens', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchen-Geschichte des Mittelalters* 6 (1892), 1-138, at 50-51.

⁵ On parish priests and the confessions of women, see I.6 above. Carmelites and Austins are discussed in this context in the next chapter.

⁶ *Reg. Bull.* XI. On the same subject, see also Bonaventure, 'Instructions for Novices', in D. Monti, ed. and trans., *St. Bonaventure's Writings concerning the Franciscan Order* (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), 145-176, at 169-70.

⁷ Bihl, 'Statuta', 84.

⁸ 'Item nullos [sic] frater pro confessione audienda seu quacumque alia de causa iuxta mulierem stet aut sedeat, nisi ubi ipse et eius socius libere possint mutuo se videre. – Et caveant omnes fratres a prolixis colloquiis mulierum.' Bihl, 'Statuta', 70.

next sentence in the constitutions enjoins *socii* to report infractions of this rule.¹ Though injunctions to clergy of all types to avoid over-familiarity with women were common, the Franciscans may have been more reticent than others due to the threatening strictures of their constitutions.

The Dominican constitutions of 1228 considered speaking ‘alone with a woman neither for confession nor about useful or honourable matters ... without licence and great necessity’ (*absque licencia et magna necessitate ... cum femina solus non de confessione aut utilibus vel honestis locutus fuerit*) a ‘grave’ (as opposed to ‘lighter’, ‘graver’ or ‘most grave’) sin, on par with eating meat, riding a horse or breaking a fast, to be penanced by three days on bread and water.² The comparative mildness of the threat, together with the specific exception for confession, contrasts with the Franciscan constitutions, and a parallel contrast may have been discernible in practice.

¹ ‘Et quicumque contrafecerint, a sociis accusentur.’ Bihl, ‘Statuta’, 70; see also translation and notes in Monti, *Bonaventure’s Writings*, 99.

² ‘Constitutiones OP’, 208.

II.7: The Smaller Mendicant Orders

The Franciscans and Dominicans had been in the British Isles for some two decades before they were joined by two orders of hermits, the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine (Austins, OESA)¹ and the Order of Hermits of Mount Carmel (Whitefriars, OCarm). Over the ensuing years, both of these orders, partly under the influence of the Franciscans and Dominicans, developed into orders of mendicant friars and took on pastoral work, though both also retained hermitages and some eremitical aspects of life. Though documentation on hermitages is scarce, it appears that neither in them nor elsewhere in these orders was mysticism a characteristic of the friar-hermits' devotion.²

Both orders flourished chiefly in the fourteenth century, and little attention has been paid to their pastoral activities in the thirteenth. In part this reflects a scarcity of primary sources; in part it reflects the difficulty of accessing what does exist: for instance, no copy of the Carmelite *Bullarium* appears to exist in the British Isles.³ It is hoped that this tentative exploration will be followed by further research.

A. The Carmelites

The Carmelites originated in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and were brought to England by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, upon his return from crusading in 1241.⁴ Within a year or two, the hermits had

¹ Throughout this thesis, Augustinian Canons (OSA) are referred to as 'Augustinians' while members of the eremitical/mendicant order (OESA) are called 'Austins'. These terms are technically interchangeable, but I follow this established convention for clarity.

² K.J. Egan, 'The Spirituality of the Carmelites', in J. Raitt, ed., *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York, 1988), 51-62, at 53; B. Hackett, 'The Spiritual Life of the English Austin Friars of the Fourteenth Century', in *Sanctus Augustinus, Vitae Spiritualis Magister*, vol. II (Rome, 1956), 421-92, at 429-34.

³ Consultations of the University's Interlibrary Loans personnel with numerous major repositories turned up nothing; perhaps more tellingly, Dr. Andrew Jotischky of the University of Lancaster informs me that he is aware of none (personal correspondence, January 2005). Other seminal publications of these orders are likewise difficult to find.

⁴ On Carmelite origins, see A. Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity* (Oxford, 2002), and *idem*, *The Perfection of Solitude* (University Park, PA, 1995).

settled sites at Aylesford and Lossenham in Kent, Hulne in Northumberland and Burnham Norton in Norfolk.¹ By the end of the century they had twenty-seven houses in England and Wales, four in Scotland and nine in Ireland.²

The early Carmelites had lived as associations of Latin and Greek hermits on Mount Carmel and had had a rule drawn up for them by Albert, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the early thirteenth century. Albert had created a rule 'concise and generic' enough that both Roman and Orthodox hermits could live under it.³ Although in 1246 Innocent IV wrote of the dispersing Carmelites as hermits,⁴ the following year he sanctioned minor alterations in the Rule of St. Albert at the request of the leadership of the order: while some aspects of eremitical life remained, such as living and praying in separate cells, frequent excursions for begging sustenance were sanctioned.⁵ In 1252 he confirmed their right to build churches with cemeteries and bells in cities and elsewhere, though the terms speak of celebrating divine service only and not of confessions and preaching.⁶ However, an agreement in 1248 between the Carmelites at Newnham, outside Cambridge, and the local parish church 'stated that the Carmelites could administer sacraments to the parishioners ... only in urgent necessity or with the special licence of the church. ... Had the Carmelites still been hermits there may not have been a need for this provision.'⁷ Their transformation into a pastoral mendicant order was underway, though the fusion of hermit and friar remained problematic.⁸ In the *Ignea Sagitta* (Fiery Arrow), written in 1271, former prior-general of the order Nicholas Gallicus called for a return

¹ *MRH*, 232-33.

² *CiB* III, viii.

³ Jotischky, *Perfection of Solitude*, 137-42.

⁴ A. Staring, 'Four Bulls of Innocent IV: A Critical Edition', *Carmelus* 27 (1980), 273-85, at 282.

⁵ M.H. Laurent, 'La Lettre "Quae Honorem Conditoris," (1^{er} Octobre 1247)', *Ephemerides Carmeliticæ* (1948), 5-16.

⁶ Staring, 'Four Bulls', 282-85.

⁷ K.J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in P. Chandler and K.J. Egan, ed., *The Land of Carmel* (Rome, 1991), 155-70, at 163.

⁸ Egan, 'Spirituality', describes this as both 'tension' and 'paradox' (p. 52); see also p. 60, where he describes it as a creative tension.

to the eremitical life.¹ Regarding his brothers preaching to, shriving and counselling the laity, he claimed that there were in the order very few (*paucissimi sunt*) worthy of that office, despite what others in his order believed.² Yet his tone betrays his motives: he was deeply mistrustful of the mendicant way of life as a whole.³ His term for Carmelites as mendicant pastors is *eremitaе-cives*, city-hermits, meant as an opprobrious absurdity.⁴ The lack of early copies of or references to the *Ignea Sagitta* suggests that this was a personal view, not necessarily that of a significant party within the order, and that the letter scarcely circulated in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries; moreover, the tenor of the prose is that of a man aware he is an isolated idealist.⁵ As a guidepost to what most Carmelites believed, we would do better to listen to Nicholas' imagined interlocutors than to his own claims.

Lacking a charismatic founder such as Francis or Dominic, the Carmelites were prone to breathtaking flights of fancy regarding their origins, ultimately arguing for unbroken descent from the Prophet Elijah.⁶ Flood writes, 'At first the Carmelites in England were at a distinct disadvantage when compared to the Franciscans and Dominicans not only because they arrived later, but also because they became so involved in defending themselves and their origins.'⁷ While concocting legends absorbed energy, it also provided new spiritual moorings at a time when, as the *Ignea Sagitta* testifies, the old ones were fast slipping away. Meditating on the heritage of the hermit-prophet Elijah might enable a mendicant Carmelite to receive some of

¹ A. Staring, ed., 'Nicolai Prioris Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum Ignea Sagitta', *Carmelus* 9 (1962), 237-307; Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, 79-93.

² Staring, 'Ignea Sagitta', 279-81.

³ Staring, 'Ignea Sagitta', 281-84; Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, 82-83.

⁴ Staring, 'Ignea Sagitta', 295-96.

⁵ *CiB* III 17-28; see also Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, 79-105.

⁶ *CiB* III, 1-15, 38-39. Jotischky, *Perfection of Solitude* has drawn out the kernel of truth from the extensive mythology of the order.

⁷ B.P. Flood, 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299-1430', *RTAM* 54 (1987), 154-83, at 183.

the devotional fruits of an eremitical life that pastoral work circumscribed.¹

Even before legends of Elijah captivated the Carmelite diaspora's imagination, the order had strong associations with the Virgin Mary: the title 'Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel' (*Fratres Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo*), still the order's official name, dates to 1252 and possibly earlier.² The Carmelite approach to Mary was unusual: rather than focusing affectively on her earthly life, 'the Carmelites venerated Mary as one whose obedience, silence and solitude provided the means by which the Word was made flesh and revealed to mankind; her divine motherhood made her a powerful intercessor and mediatrix for her faithful servants.'³ The most visible result was in liturgy and devotion.⁴ In 1275, a layman donated fourteen pounds of wax for candles to burn before the statue of the Virgin at the Carmelite convent in Aberdeen, which had only been settled a year or two before: already their church was becoming a locus of Marian devotion, and further gifts of wax or coin 'to God, the blessed Mary and the friars of Mount Carmel of Aberdeen' in succeeding years show that it remained so.⁵ The order's particular devotion to the Virgin has also been cited as attracting thirteenth-century laity to the Carmelite church in Toulouse.⁶ Regular attendance in England is suggested by the bishop of Lincoln's letter of 1293 forbidding the Boston Carmelites to admit laypeople on Easter Day.⁷ Whether laypeople visiting English Carmelite convents shared the order's unusual devotion to Mary is not

¹ V. Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', posted by the British Carmelite Province at <http://www.carmelite.org/chronology/mantleofelijah.htm> and accessed 7 Dec. 2004; see also J. Bergström-Allen, "'Heremitam et Ordinis Carmelitarum': A Study of the Vernacular Theological Literature Produced by Medieval English Whitefriars, particularly Richard Misyn, O.Carm.", (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), also posted by the British Carmelite Province, at <http://www.carmelite.org/jnbba/thesis.htm> and accessed 27 May 2004, chapter 1 pp. 1-2, 13.

² Edden, 'Mantle of Elijah', 1-2.

³ Edden, 'Mantle of Elijah', 1; *CiB* III 11, 39.

⁴ Edden, 'Mantle of Elijah', 7-9.

⁵ *CiB* III 165-66.

⁶ S. Lesur, 'Le couvent des grands Carmes de Toulouse au XIII^e siècle', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 8 (1973), 101-10, at 107.

⁷ *Reg. Sutton* IV, 127-28.

known, but the friars may well have spoken to visitors, either informally or in sermons, providing an opportunity to spread this devotion.

B. The Austins

Like the Carmelites, the Austin (Augustinian) Friars originated as several groups of hermits brought together under one rule. Mostly Italian in origin, they were united in 1256 under the Rule of St. Augustine.¹ They too invented historical roots; some fourteenth-century sources claimed direct descent of the order from Augustine himself, but origin legends were not such an obsession as they were to Carmelites.² Also like the Carmelites, their real flourishing came in the fourteenth century, and we must be careful in judging what can be read back onto the thirteenth-century friars.

Separate groups of proto-Austins who would be united in 1256 arrived in England in 1249 and 1252.³ These likely spent the next few years living as hermits, but the union of 1256 also changed the terms of the Austins' life: henceforth they would be mendicant friars.⁴ The scantiness of the sources allows us to say little of their pastoral activity in thirteenth-century England. The Constitutions of 1290, which appear to have incorporated substantial amounts of earlier material, made provision for the examination of preachers, and two sermons of William Hecham, regent of the Austins' Oxford school around 1293 and later provincial prior, exist in manuscript; these are, however, Oxford University sermons, not sermons to the laity.⁵ It is possible that the *Liber historiarum* given for life to Thomas de Tyfford OESA in 1299 was a collection of *exempla* or narrations which could

¹ C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars* (London, 1994), 98; Roth I, 13-17; B. van Luijk, *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, 1187-1256* (Wuerzburg, 1964), 128-30.

² Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, 263-73.

³ Roth I, 18-21.

⁴ E. Ypma, 'Les études des Augustins et leur installation dans le Midi', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 8 (1973), 111-31, at 111-12.

⁵ D. Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256-1356* (Villanova, PA, 1984), 186-90; Roth II, 61; Schneyer, *Repertorium* 2, 459; *BRUO*, 899.

be used in preaching.¹ Promoting indulgences, a form of penitential preaching, was restricted in 1290, with specific punishments stipulated for lectors and preachers guilty of promoting indulgences of uncertain legitimacy.²

In assessing pastoral care offered by Austins we have few direct clues. Historians of the order agree that the influence of Augustine's thought was paramount; and here we do have a clear thirteenth-century connexion, for his influence would be felt through his Rule.³ The General Chapter was making provisions for students, books and examination in literacy as early as 1281,⁴ while according to the Constitutions of 1290, which describe in detail a hierarchy of *studia*, the study of theology was central to the order's purpose.⁵ Thus before 1300 the Austins were both interested in theology and devoted to a particular theologian. Zumkeller has traced this through the later Middle Ages, and some of the characteristics he highlights would later be fundamental to the doctrines of an influential Austin Friar named Martin Luther. These include a belief in the fallenness of both will and intellect, with a less optimistic view of the intellect than seems to have been typical of the Dominicans;⁶ and a lack of trust in merit or good works. This last point could conceivably have led to increased emphasis on contrition, rather than satisfaction, in their hearing of confessions. It is also likely that the pseudo-Augustinian *De vera et falsa poenitentia* was respected because of its alleged authorship, but its influence was so generally pervasive that this would not make the Austins radically different.

¹ This is not an interpretation that occurred to Roth, who presents other (admittedly more likely) possibilities. Roth II, 74 and n.

² *Analecta Augustiniana* II, 294.

³ A. Zumkeller, 'The Spirituality of the Augustinians', in Raitt, *Christian Spirituality*, 63-74, at 63; D. Gutiérrez, 'Ermites de Saint-Augustin', in M. Viller *et al.*, ed., *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique : Doctrine et Histoire*, vol. IV (Paris, 1961), 983-1018, esp. 993-96; Hackett, 'Spiritual Life', 433.

⁴ *Analecta Augustiniana* II (Rome, 1907), 249-51.

⁵ Zumkeller, 'Spirituality', 63; Gutiérrez, *Augustinians*, 60-61; I. Aramburu Cendoya, ed., *Las Primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos-Ratisbonenses del año 1290* (Valladolid, Spain, 1966), 110-21.

⁶ So Giles of Rome OESA (d. 1316) in his *Sentences* commentary, 2.28.1.2.1, as cited by Zumkeller, 'Spirituality', 66.

The Austins looked to the bishop of Hippo not only theologically but also devotionally. The Constitutions of 1290 already referred to him as ‘our father’, and the General Chapter of 1303 ruled:

To the honor and praise of our most blessed father Augustine, and so that he may always consider it worthy [for him] to intercede efficaciously before God for our order and all the brethren as his devoted sons, we appoint and ordain that his vigil ought to be kept throughout the whole order by the fasting of all the brethren.¹

The friars may have encouraged devotion to Augustine among the laity as well, just as the Franciscans and Dominicans did for their founder-saints.

Augustine was not the only theologian to whom the Austins looked. Their own greatest scholar of the century, Giles of Rome, had studied under Aquinas at Paris in 1268-72 and, while showing independent thought, became a strong defender of Thomism.² The General Chapter of Florence in 1287 proclaimed Giles’s writings as embodying the official doctrine of the order, mandating that all the friars defend zealously not only everything he had written but also everything that he might yet write.³ How far this affected pastoral care is not clear, but a detailed analysis of his as yet unedited commentary on Lombard’s *Sentences*, especially Book IV, might uncover distinctive approaches to confession.

The Constitutions of 1290 also mention public preaching by Austins: it is only in the context of the licensing of preachers by the provincial chapters, but it begins by noting that preaching is only permitted to those who are prepared and sufficiently educated.⁴

C. Confessions of the Laity

¹ ‘Our father’: *Const. Ratisbonensis*, 31. ‘Item, ad honorem et laudem beatissimi patris Augustini, et ut pro nostro Ordine et fratribus universis, tamquam pro suis devotis filiis, semper dignetur efficaciter intercedere apud Deum, definimus et ordinamus quod eius vigilia debeat per totum ordinem ab omnibus fratribus ieiunari’: *Analecta Augustiniana* III (1909), 58.

² A. Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London, 1940), 35-37.

³ Gwynn, *Time of Wyclif*, 37-38; *Analecta Augustiniana* II, 275.

⁴ *Const. Ratisbonensis*, 115-16.

Apart from the general emphases of the orders and other conjectures given above, no certain documentary evidence appears to remain as to what, if anything, was distinctive about the hearing of confessions by Austins and Carmelites; they probably used various materials prepared by other mendicant or secular scholars, for they are not known to have produced any manuals of their own in the thirteenth century. There is, however, evidence that they had and used the privilege to hear lay confessions, and apparently secular clerical confessions as well.

In 1243, Innocent IV had granted some of the Austins the right to hear the confession of anyone who came to them, and this privilege passed to the whole order at the union of 1256. The same bull also guaranteed the right to preach publicly. The hearing of confessions required the licence of the bishop and parish rector, but Richard of Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, had an *in speximus* of the bull entered in his episcopal register in 1283, apparently in defence of the privilege.¹ This suggests both that he supported the order in its pastoral goals and that there had been some opposition among his parish clergy. The timing may reflect uncertainty whether the Austins' right to hear confessions was freed from the secular ecclesiastical structure by the bull *Ad fructus uberes* of 1281 which had given those privileges to the Dominicans and Franciscans, a bull recorded in Swinfield's register in 1282.² John le Romeyn, archbishop of York 1285-1296, delegated his authority to act as the Conservator of Privileges for the Austins in England to his Official,³ so neither travel nor business would prevent the defence of their rights.

In 1262, Urban VI granted the Carmelites the right to hear the confessions of any faithful who came to them, provided that the local secular *prelati* gave licence: as this bull was entered in the register of

¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, 80-81; see also Roth II, 42n. It is ambiguous whether permission was required for preaching, but in a bull of 1254, another of the future constituents was granted both privileges, again requiring episcopal or parochial permission: van Luijk, *Bullarium*, 96-97.

² *Reg. Swinfield*, 34-35.

³ *Reg. Romeyn* I, no. 86 (July, 1291).

Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, in 1273, who elsewhere referred to Carmelites but no other mendicants as 'beloved' (*dilecti*), at least one English diocesan apparently supported their cause.¹ Another was Richard Gravesend, bishop of London, who founded the Carmelite friary at Maldon in Essex in 1293.² When adjudicating a dispute between the friary and the local parish church in 1300, he declared that they might hear the confessions of the laity but only by the permission of the parish priest.³ Urban's bull and Gravesend's settlement accord in terms with the Constitutions of London (1281), the earliest surviving for the order, which provide that 'no friar may, without the licence of the prior-general or -provincial and the [secular] prelate, hear the confessions of outsiders ... and so let him be diligently examined and found sufficiently suitable'. Regarding the circumstances of confession, it was established that 'Confessions should be heard in our houses in visible places, and in confessions outside our house let one friar be able to see another.'⁴ As with other mendicant constitutions, these probably incorporate pre-existing material.

Perhaps unaware of these bulls, Archbishop Pecham observed Austins and Carmelites hearing the confessions of both clergy and laity at his visitation of Oxford: Richard Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln⁵ had probably given them permission. In 1280, Pecham ordered the archdeacon of Oxford to stop them until they should prove their right to do so.⁶ One can only assume that both orders quickly dispatched *inspeximus* copies of the relevant bulls. When *Super cathedram*

¹ *Reg. W. Giffard*, 304; for *dilecti*, see *ibid.*, 298.

² *MRH* 235; A. Simpson, *The Carmelite Friary at Maldon Essex* (Maldon, 1986), 46.

³ 'Nullum etiam parochianum dicte ecclesie ad confessionem admittant nisi qui eis confiteri voluerit et prius a suo curato licentiatum fuerit et dimissus.' British Library, Cotton Charter V.33.

⁴ 'Nulli etiam fratrum liceat sine licentia prioris generalis aut provincialis et prelatorum audire confessiones extraneorum ... et tunc quod sit diligenter examinatus et sufficienter idoneus inventus. ... Confessiones autem in domibus nostris in locis manifestis audiantur et in confessionibus extra domus nostras frater a fratre videatur'. L. Saggi, 'Constitutiones Capituli Londoniensis Anni 1281', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitanum* n.s. 15 (1950), 203-45, at 222. The Constitutions of 1294 show no substantive changes: L. Saggi, 'Constitutiones Capituli Burdigalensis Anni 1294', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitanum* n.s. 18 (1953), 123-85, at 144-45.

⁵ Not to be confused with the aforementioned bishop of London of the same name, his nephew.

⁶ *Epist. Pecham* I, 99-100.

curtailed mendicant pastoral privileges in 1300, John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln, limited the number of Dominicans he licensed to hear confessions in his diocese on the grounds that he had requests from Austins and Carmelites as well for licences, some of which he presumably granted.¹

In the previous chapter, the particular problem of women's confession was raised for the Franciscans and Dominicans. The Carmelite constitutions of 1281 and 1294 required a friar speaking with a woman to have a *socius* nearby where he could both see and hear them; this seems to refer to normal conversation, not confessions specifically. The statutes regarding hearing lay confessions outside the convent required mutual visibility in all cases and said nothing in particular about confessions of women; legally, the *socius* may have had to sit near enough to hear a woman's confession as well.² The Austins' Constitutions of 1290 made similar provisions for speaking with a woman, though with close relatives the *socius* could retreat from earshot. An Austin could not be left alone in the church to shrive or counsel a woman unless they were on opposite sides of the locked gate between nave and choir. The possibility of speaking about God with several women at once in the church was envisaged and accepted, again with adequate supervision. If a friar is hearing the confession of a sick woman in her bedroom or some other small room, his *socius*, so far as possible, should stay at the door so that he can see but not hear. When hearing confessions while traveling, each of the *socii* should be able to see the other when shriving women. Any friar contravening this would be penanced by three days on bread and water, but he would also be forbidden to hear confessions (or preach, if a preacher) for one year.³ An Austin also committed a 'grave' sin (as opposed to light, graver or gravest) if he went on a regular basis somewhere that he could fix his eyes on women, or if he spoke with a woman for purposes other than confession, except briefly asking or

¹ Roth II, 82.

² Saggi, ed., 'Londoniensis', 203-45, at 217, 222; *idem*, 'Burdigalensis', 123-85, at 140, 145.

³ *Const. Ratisbonensis*, 46-47.

answering a question.¹ Of all the four orders, however, the Austins were given the greatest freedom by their constitutions in the care of women's souls, and Franciscans the least.

D. The Suppressed Orders

The Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ originated around 1250 in Provence, adopting the Augustinian Rule and constitutions based on the Dominicans'.² Their first known house in the British Isles was at London, founded in 1257. These Friars of the Sack, so called for their sackcloth habits, established fifteen more convents in England and one in Scotland by 1274. Remarkably, all of these were in or near towns that already hosted several mendicant convents: clearly, both recruits and supporters found in them something that other mendicants did not satisfy. It is not now possible to determine what this was, though sheer novelty cannot be dismissed. In 1274, the Friars of the Sack were among the small mendicant orders suppressed by the Council of Lyons,³ though not for any apparent fault. Although they could continue their way of life, they were forbidden to receive new members, shrive the laity or preach publicly; it is unknown whether laity attended their liturgies. Continuing support from the laity was demonstrated by the fact that more than half of the English convents still existed in 1300, a generation after their recruitment and public ministry had ceased. Such support may indicate that the remaining friars prayed for the donors and their families.

The Friars of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who entered England in 1267, settled at Westminster, Norwich and Cambridge before they were likewise suppressed in 1274.⁴ Nothing seems to be known about their pastoral activity.

¹ *Const. Ratisbonensis*, 155.

² R.W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Sack', *Speculum* 18 (1943), 323-34, is the only discussion in print that contributes significantly to our knowledge, and therefore the sole source for this paragraph.

³ *DEC*, 326-27,

⁴ R.W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Blessed Mary and the Pied Friars', *Speculum* 24 (1949), 228-38

II.8: Pastoral Care of the Laity by Monks and Canons Regular

Owst held up the pastoral success of the friars as a mirror of the alleged pastoral shortcomings of the parish clergy, especially in preaching.¹ By the same token, one might expect that monks and canons added little to what the parish clergy offered. However, we will see that they did have roles to play in the care of souls.

The Augustinian Canons (OSA) are an interesting case. Unlike monks or Premonstratensian Canons, their order was conceived at least in part with the intent of engaging with the world.² Many Augustinian houses were created by the regularising of minsters and other houses of secular canons which had had a pastoral function. The Dominican and Augustinian friars were technically Augustinian Canons; nothing in the Rule prevented pastoral activity. The southern English Augustinian foundations in the period 1100-1135 were typically urban, perhaps aiming at ministering to the growing populations of towns, but then they tended to retire outside the town, sometimes miles away.³ Oxford is a case in point: in 1100 it was served by two houses of secular canons within the town walls, both of which were absorbed by new Augustinian houses, Oseney and St. Frideswide's. According to Postles, these then turned away from the population, except as urban landowners.⁴ Elsewhere, the presence of Augustinian Canons as the chapter of Carlisle Cathedral dissuaded neither Franciscans nor Dominicans from settling in the town in 1233.⁵ Schneyer's *Repertorium*, which aimed to catalogue all known sermons from the period 1150-1350, includes no sermons by

¹ G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (New York, 1965, reissue of 1926 edn.), 48.

² J. Leclercq, in Leclercq *et al.*, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), 137-41; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain* (Cambridge, 1994), 43-62.

³ D. Postles, 'The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350', *BIHR* 66 (1993), 1-20.

⁴ Postles, 'Austin Canons', 5-6.

⁵ *MRH*, 214, 222.

Augustinian Canons except for the scholarly Victorines at Paris.¹

Longère made no reference to popular preaching by canons regular.²

While the parish clergy complained of mendicants infringing on rights of confession and preaching in the thirteenth century, similar complaints against monks or canons seem to have been limited to the twelfth century.³ This is not, however, proof that no non-mendicant regulars served the laity pastorally in the thirteenth century. In 1297 the bishop of Lincoln commissioned the Augustinian subprior and sacrist of Dunstable to hear confessions and absolve in their appropriated parish of Dunstable.⁴ At Oxford, the canons may not have been as isolationist as Postles suggested, for St. Frideswide's Priory also served as a parish church from the 1220s to 1298,⁵ while the canons of Oseney received a papal privilege in 1147 allowing them to serve parish churches appropriated to them by presenting one of their sacerdotal canons to the bishop, to be instituted if found suitable.⁶ Moreover, many secular foundations were in poor condition in the twelfth century, and their regularising may have breathed new life into all aspects of their lives, including their relations with the laity.⁷

The libraries of canonical houses, like their monastic counterparts, contained many pastoral works, for the canons heard one another's confessions and preached within their communities. The Premonstratensian abbey at Bradsole in Kent in the late thirteenth century owned, among other *pastoralia*, a copy of Richard

¹ Schneyer, *Repertorium*.

² J. Longère, *La Prédication Médiévale* (Paris, 1983).

³ J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), 214-22; G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (Cambridge, 1964), 172-82.

⁴ *Reg. Sutton* V, 207.

⁵ A. Dodd, 'Churches and religious houses in Norman Oxford', in *eadem*, ed., *Oxford before the University* (Oxford, 2003), 56-59, at 57. A vicarage was ordained for the parish of St. Frideswide's around 1225; a secular vicar was envisioned, supported by living with the canons. *Rot. Hug.* I, 182. A parish congregation continued to worship in the abbey church: J. Blair, 'St. Frideswide's Monastery: Problems and Possibilities', in *idem*, ed., *Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford* (Gloucester, 1990), 221-58, at 255-58. It was united with the parish of St. Edward in 1298 for several reasons, including that the canons and the vicar celebrated in very close proximity so that their singing clashed: *Reg. Sutton* VI, 106-07.

⁶ The phrase 'episcopi curam animarum committant' suggests parochial service, not merely celebration at the altar. H.E. Salter, ed., *The Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, vol. III (Oxford, 1931), 371-72.

⁷ Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, 241-44.

of Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene presunt*, written to instruct parish priests, as well as Peñaforte's *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* and the *Summa Confessorum* of Thomas of Chobham, subdean of Salisbury, written around 1213.¹ Friars had some access to monastic libraries.² How much access parish clergy had to them is not clear, but much sharing could have happened without leaving documentary evidence. Augustinians and other regulars also produced *pastoralia* that non-canonics could have used. The Primer, which in later centuries was a book of devotions for the laity, sometimes in the vernacular, developed among the Augustinian Canons before moving outward to the secular clergy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³ Cistercians compiled collections of *exempla* for preaching which were then appropriated by the friars.⁴ The popular Continental *pastoralium Stella clericorum* (ca. 1200), by an Augustinian Canon, would also have been appropriate for use by parish clergy, and it did circulate among seculars as well as religious.⁵ A late-twelfth-century English tract on confession attributed to Guy of Southwick OSA is not known to have circulated outside the author's abbey, but it too would have been more broadly applicable.⁶

If a house of canons sent some of its members to serve at a parish church appropriated to them, whether temporarily or permanently, they would have been treading on no-one's established rights in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Theologians and canonists in the twelfth century had distinguished between power to administer sacraments (*potestas sacerdotis*) and the delegated responsibility to exercise it (*executio potestatis*): a regular priest had the first by ordination, but the second required an assigned pastorate, whether

¹ D.N. Bell, ed., *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* (London, 1992), 163 (no. 27b), 166 (nos. 52-53).

² W.R. Jones, 'Franciscan Education and Monastic Libraries', *Traditio* 30 (1974), 435-45.

³ E. Bishop, 'Introduction', in *The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (London, 1897), i-xxxviii, at xxxi-xxxiv.

⁴ J.-C. Schmitt, 'Recueils Franciscains d'«Exempla»', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 135 (1977), 1-22; C. Bremond, J. le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt, *L'«Exemplum»* (Turnhout, 1982), 59.

⁵ E.H. Reiter, ed., *Stella Clericorum* (Toronto, 1997).

⁶ D.A. Wilmart, ed., 'Un opuscule sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XII^e siècle', *RTAM* 7 (1935), 337-52.

over other religious or over laity.¹ Thirteenth-century bishops did sanction canonical pastorate of some parish churches. In these cases, the geography of pastoral care can be clearly delineated. Two illustrative cases can be given here.²

The Augustinian priory of Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire (diocese of York) was granted rights in eight parish churches in the later twelfth century.³ All but one were within about ten miles of Thurgarton. The priory also obtained a papal privilege in 1209 allowing it to present a canon to any of its churches, provided that the church was vacant, the presentation was made to the bishop, and three or at least two other canons accompanied the Augustinian vicar.⁴ It would be too great a drain on personnel for many of the churches to be served under these terms.⁵ Some were certainly served otherwise, at least at particular points in the century, though the record is far from complete: of Granby, Tithby and Hoveringham, all within eight miles of Thurgarton, the archiepiscopal registers tell us nothing.⁶ A limitation was placed on parochial service by Archbishop Wickwane in 1280 when, at a visitation of the priory, he ordered that canons serving outside the priory be rotated on a fortnightly basis; this may reflect laxity on the part of the canons serving outside the house, but it clearly indicates that it was happening.⁷ Parochial service by the canons would seem to have been interrupted in February 1293, when Archbishop le Romeyn inhibited them from exiting the priory because they were members of a cloistered order,⁸ though as this contradicted Innocent's bull of 1209 it may have been

¹ M. Peuchmard, 'Le prêtre ministre de la parole dans la théologie du XII^e siècle', *RTAM* 29 (1962), 52-76; *idem*, 'Mission canonique et prédication: Le prêtre ministre de la parole dans la querelle entre Mendicants et Séculiers au XIII^e siècle', *RTAM* 30 (1963), 122-44, 251-76; Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, 216.

² See III.6 below, and A.H. Thompson, *Historical and Architectural Description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale* (Leeds, 1928).

³ *EEA* 20, 98-100, dated to 1164 x 22 Nov. 1181.

⁴ C.R. Cheney and M.G. Cheney, ed., *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales* (Oxford, 1967), no. 855; PL CCXVI, 113.

⁵ Knowles suggests that Thurgarton had around thirty canons in 1291: *MRH*, 176.

⁶ *EEA* 20, 98n; *Reg. Wickwane*, 83, 147; *Reg. Romeyn* I, 254, 306; II, 66.

⁷ *Reg. Wickwane*, 146-47.

⁸ *Reg. Romeyn* I, 308.

involved in the litigation between priory and archbishop in 1308-1311.¹

The abbey of Premonstratensian Canons at Langley in Norfolk (Norwich diocese) received from Innocent III several parish churches, including St. Michael's, Langley;² their foundation appears to have been installed in the parish church while their convent was being built in the later twelfth century, and an episcopal confirmation of 1276 seems to have been a confirmation of the practice since then.³ St. Michael's was a donative benefice: the patrons (the canons) preferred the priest directly rather than through the bishop. As a result, the church disappears from episcopal registers and we cannot tell whether it was served by canons.⁴ Thurton parish church, not three miles away, also belonged to Langley Abbey, but not as a donative benefice: the abbey presented canons in March 1348 and July 1349, and the bishop accepted them, though it is unclear whether the same occurred in the thirteenth century.⁵ However, it would be easier for one or more canons to serve St. Michael's, Langley, while still taking part in much of the communal life of the abbey. This was probably done at least some of the time, for it would have saved the canons the cost of supplying a secular chaplain. This had a parallel at the parish church of Worksop in York diocese, to which the Augustinian Canons of Worksop Priory presented one of their number in 1276.⁶ Augustinians would have found this an easier task than Premonstratensians, for the former followed the liturgical use of the diocese while the latter would have to use different liturgical books in the convent and in the parish church.⁷

Innocent III's condition that three or four canons must be present at any church being served by the Augustinians of Thurgarton

¹ *Reg. Greenfield* V, 214-15.

² Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Innocent III*, no. 1125 and pp. 279-80.

³ H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), 272-73.

⁴ *Reg. Bateman* II, 145-46.

⁵ *Reg. Bateman* I, nos. 387, 706. It is not clear whether the rapid turnover resulted from the plague.

⁶ *Reg. W. Giffard*, 263. However, there was a secular chaplain in 1267: *ibid.*, 73, 78, 79-80.

⁷ J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), 29-30.

was not unique: the Third Lateran Council in 1179 had ordered that any cell or parish church served by religious must have at least two brothers, both to maintain the common liturgical life and to safeguard morals.¹ Dickinson argues that this was frequently ignored,² but where it was followed it would have provided the laity with a more elaborate and well-executed liturgy than they might have received from a secular vicar assisted by a clerk or two.

One might not expect monks to have served parish churches personally in the thirteenth century, and so the following entry in the register of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235, is somewhat unexpected: 'There is neither patron nor parson of the church of Weston, but the monks of Merevale cause it to be served three days a week by one of their monks, and they pay two shillings as its synodal dues, since they occupied the whole ground of the parish in all their parish churches.'³ Weston is in Leicestershire, Lincoln diocese; the Cistercian abbey of Merevale, though just six miles distant, was in Warwickshire in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.⁴ As the monks held the whole manor, which had been given them in the mid-twelfth century,⁵ they sent over one of their number as a regularly visiting overseer, doubling as parish priest and saving the cost of a vicar. Distinction must be made, however, between serving at the altar only and serving the parish in such matters as confessions, preaching, and

¹ *DEC*, 217.

² Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, 221, 228ff.

³ 'Ecclesie de Weston non est patronatus neque persona, sed monachi de Mirivall faciunt eam deserviri iij diebus in septimana per aliquem de monachis, et solvunt synodalia pro ea iis. quia ecclesiis omnibus parochianis totam terram parochie occupaverunt.' *Rot. Hug.* I, 249. The *matriculus* of the archdeaconry of Leicester, in which this appears, dates to 1220. The conflicting present and past tenses of the verbs in the passage may indicate a former or discontinued practice, or may be intended to indicate that this is well-established and thus worthy of the bishop's sanction.

⁴ Weston is listed clearly as a parish in the *matriculus*, but appears neither in other thirteenth-century Lincoln registers nor in the *Reg. Ant.* nor in the episcopal *acta*: it may have been merged into another parish. The editors of *Domesday Book* describe it as part of Sheepy Magna, another parish in the same deanery according to the *matriculus*, and it is to this that measurement has been made. A. Williams and G.H. Martin, ed. and trans., *Domesday Book* (London, 2003), vol. 2, 642. On Merevale, see *VCH Warwick* II, 75-78. It is not listed in the valuation roll of the archdeaconry on the dorse of the roll carrying the *matriculus* (*Rot. Hug.* I, 273-79), but it may have been included in 'Sepeheye integra' (p. 279) with Sheepy Magna and Sheepy Parva.

⁵ *VCH Warwick* II, 75.

visiting the sick:¹ the text suggests the former, either leaving the parishioners in a partial pastoral vacuum or obliging them to resort to the priests of neighbouring parishes, who might have demanded customary oblations. A similar situation can be seen in a chapel in the parish of Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, which had been built as a cell of Bury St. Edmunds for the monks overseeing property there but which doubled as a chapel-of-ease used by the laity and dependent upon the mother church, though it is impossible to say whether a secular chaplain was provided and whether the laity sometimes attended when the Benedictine monks were using the church.²

The Benedictines did not exclude the laity from their monastic churches.³ Before 1226, Pershore Abbey moved the parishioners of their appropriated church of St. Michael, along with their baptistery, into their nave, probably to save the cost of maintaining the parish church.⁴ In 1290, the bishop of Lincoln granted an indulgence to encourage laypeople to attend Sunday mass in a chapel in Peterborough Abbey.⁵ To some extent, laity who entered regulars' churches were considered to be under the spiritual aegis of the religious; they were certainly in extraparochial space. At least in the later middle ages, it seems that the tenants and servants of Bolton Priory (OSA) in Yorkshire, who lived in extraparochial space, attended services in the nave of the canons' church,⁶ which was preserved for parochial use at the Dissolution: this situation, halfway between parish church and the arrangements for worship by lay-brothers of religious orders, may have been common. The *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, an anonymous French treatise from the mid-twelfth century, mentions monks and canons singing masses, preaching to the laity, and hearing the laity's confessions – all three aspects of

¹ G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (Cambridge, 1964), 172-82.

² *Acta of Hugh*, 60.

³ M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 18 (1967), 165-72, at 167.

⁴ *Acta Stephani Langton*, 92.

⁵ *Reg. Sutton* III, 15.

⁶ Thompson, *Bolton Priory*, 112.

Pecham's definition of the care of souls – but in the monastic, not the parish, church.¹

Monastic preaching to the laity still occurred in England at least at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Abbot Samson (d. 1210) of Bury St. Edmunds preached to the laity in English in his church often enough that he had a pulpit erected; but, his biographer immediately adds, Samson preferred the active to the contemplative life.² Monks of more eremitical inclinations might have avoided such a task. The Cistercians had been drafted as preachers of the Crusade before the friars relieved them, and there is no sign that they missed that duty.³ On the Continent, Dominic, an Augustinian Canon, had toured the countryside preaching and disputing against heretics with his bishop and a clutch of Cistercians, but the lack of success and the monks' desire to return to their monasteries must be noted by the historian as it certainly was by Dominic, who otherwise would not have perceived a need for a new order.⁴ Wenzel cites evidence of monks preaching to the laity, mostly in monastic churches, from the later Middle Ages, but none of it certainly reflects thirteenth-century practice: it is therefore not clear whether monastic preaching to the laity substantially died down for a century only to resurge, or merely was not recorded.⁵

The most likely venue for monastic preaching to the laity was in the nave of the monks' church, and the audience was likely to include pilgrims as well as locals; the number of the former would largely depend upon the popularity of the cult of the saint or saints whose relics were in the monastery's possession. In substantial pilgrimage churches, the monastery supplied personnel to be in attendance at the shrine, welcoming, directing and assisting pilgrims and protecting from depredation the shrine and the donations thereto.⁶ It was also in

¹ The context suggests singing masses for the laity, though whether this meant for a congregation or for the souls of the departed is unclear. Chibnall, 'Monks', 167; G. Constable, ed., and B. Smith, trans., *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia* (Oxford, 1972), 26-7.

² H.E. Butler, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* (Edinburgh, 1949), 40.

³ H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1988), 96.

⁴ Vicaire, *Dominic*, 112-14.

⁵ S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2005), 283.

⁶ A late-medieval 'watching-loft' still overlooks the shrine of St. Alban at the eponymous abbey.

the monastery's interest to ensure that any miracles would have a reliable witness, especially if their saint had yet to be officially canonised. Westminster Abbey and Durham Cathedral had servants for this purpose,¹ but less wealthy houses with fewer supplicants may have assigned this work to monks or canons from time to time. This would be akin to the visitation of the sick, though in this case the sick visited the churchmen.

The shrine of St. Gilbert at Sempringham in the diocese of Lincoln shows a different picture. Few miracles were witnessed by the canons or nuns of that double house. Most were attested by the family and friends of those cured: many of the cures seem to have taken place while only the supplicant was at the shrine, sometimes sleeping there at night. Several cures were effected away from the shrine, though generally in the neighbourhood, by secondary relics sent or brought from the priory. In one case of healing at the shrine, a madwoman was restored to her right mind; upon her recovery she sought and was granted confession and communion (apparently, though not certainly, physical reception) from a canon.²

Combining this woman's experience with Abbot Samson's preaching, we see that the observation of the author of the *Liber de diversis ordinibus ecclesiae* held true for early thirteenth-century eastern England. Elsewhere, a decision of the archdeacon of Richmond in 1256 reveals that some servants of the Abbey of Cokersand, nine miles southwest of Lancaster, were receiving ecclesiastical sacraments at the abbey church, presumably from the Premonstratensian Canons.³ In our study of Carlisle diocese (III.6), we will see that sacramental pastoral care by the regular canons was common in the Northwest throughout the thirteenth century.

¹ B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England* (Oxford, 1993), 161.

² R. Foreville and G. Keir, ed. and trans., *The Book of St. Gilbert* (Oxford, 1987), 264-355; cited case at 332-35.

³ W.O. Roper, ed., *Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster*, vol. I (Manchester, 1892), 52-54.

What might have been the hallmarks of non-mendicant regular pastoral care? While monastic and canonical orders produced far fewer famous theologians in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth, it does not follow that a monk or canon engaged in pastoral work was poorly qualified. The library of the Premonstratensians at Bradsole, as we have seen, included pastoral works in the thirteenth century, but while Wetheringsett's *summa* was aimed at parish priests of good education, Peñaforte's and Chobham's required considerable erudition, perhaps on the level of the average friar. Like friars and unlike parish priests, other regulars submitted to noviciates in which both their education and their spiritual lives were developed; likewise, they were exposed to frequent preaching. If they were still preaching publicly in the later thirteenth century, they may, like some parish clergy, have been influenced by mendicant *sermones moderni*. Frequent confession and the receipt of counsel from experienced elders offered the monk or canon experience that would equip him for the confessional and other means of spiritual direction. As the scholarly canon regular Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115) had written, 'no one is more rightly promoted to the care of another man's life than one who has first become guardian of his own life.'¹ Ralph de Ireton, Augustinian and bishop of Carlisle, instituted a fellow Augustinian to a vicarage around 1280, noting that the new vicar's experience in receiving and administering the discipline of the Rule was good preparation for his new charge.²

Endowed religious houses had a few further parts to play in the care of the laity's souls, including suffrages after death and the rights of presentation to many parish churches. The former applied mostly to founders and other benefactors and their families.³ The latter did not

¹ '[N]emo rectius custos praeponitur vitae alienae quam qui prius custos est factus vitae suae.' Ivo of Chartres, Epistola 213, in PL CLXII, 216, following the translation of Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, 217. Consider also the fine pastoral distinction discussed by H. Leyser, 'Two Concepts of Temptation', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser, ed., *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), 318-26.

² *EEA* 30, 172.

³ On the various meanings attached to lay burial in non-parochial churches, see B. Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions: An Aspect of Monastic Patronage', in M.W. Ormrod, ed., *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Grantham, Lincolnshire, 1985), 64-75.

result in much direct pastoral interaction with the laity, but the amount of regard for the laity exercised by the abbey or priory presenting a rector or vicar would have substantial ramifications for pastoral care.¹ Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, insisted that the canons of Oseney 'shall find a cleric who is suitable and devoted to his duty and the ministry of the church, who shall display an oath of fidelity and devotion to that chaplain as vicar'.² Episcopal visitations of religious houses sometimes include mandates to replace parish priests.³ As with friars, monks and canons may have been sought out in pastoral emergencies, especially in their immediate neighbourhoods.

Monks and canons regular did care for the souls of the laity, in a way that was scattered and perhaps declining through the century but was real nonetheless. While their various direct contributions to pastoral care were apparently dwarfed by those of the parish clergy and mendicant friars, they also occupied particular niches, such as custodians of large shrines, that neither of these groups could comfortably fill. For our purposes, what they lack in telling us about pastoral care in general is compensated by the geographic specificity of what they did offer.

¹ R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances* (Cambridge, 1926), 71-95; *Acta of Hugh*, 344.

² 'Canonici vero ei clericum idoneum et ejus obsequio et ecclesie ministerio devotum inveniet, qui juramentum fidelitatis et devotionis ipsi capellano, ut vicario, prestabit'. *Rot. Hug.* I, 179-80; cf. II, 18-19.

³ *Reg. Wickwane*, 147.

Part III: Studies in the Geography of Pastoral Care

*Religiones sunt non per insulam modo:
verum singulas etiam urbes variae.*

Thomas More, *Utopia*, IX (1516)

III.1: The Province of Canterbury

The mediaeval Province of Canterbury comprised fourteen dioceses in England and all four Welsh sees (see map A following the Introduction).

Throughout the thirteenth century, a series of provincial and legatine councils promulgated legislation which, together with archiepiscopal administration, impinged upon local conditions, especially through diocesan legislation and administration. But as Gibbs and Lang showed, the diffusion of papally-led reforms to diocesan and parochial realities required the co-operation of local ordinaries to effect real change;¹ this was also the case with provincial ecclesiastical reform.

The development of Canterbury provincial administration cannot be detailed here, but a rough outline can be given.² In the later twelfth century, the extant evidence ‘suggests that the archbishop was not very active in his suffragans’ dioceses *sede plena* as a matter of course. The suffragans’ inferiors were more inclined to have recourse to him *sede vacante* or in the absence of their own bishop.’³ After the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in July 1205, two successive quashed elections, the dispute over Langton’s appointment, the papal interdict and the subsequent presence of papal legates in England kept metropolitan jurisdiction weak.⁴ The legate Pandulf resigned in July 1221, and Langton returned from Rome a month later; finally holding the reins, he called a provincial council to meet at Oxford the next year.⁵

¹ See *Bishops and Reform*.

² Works on the subject include I.J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (London, 1933); *EEA* 2 and 3; *Acta Stephani Langton*; C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956); biographies of the archbishops; and other works cited below. The *EEA* series will eventually extend to 1279 in Canterbury diocese, further illuminating administration, but currently the latest edited are *Acta Stephani Langton* (to 1228). The period 1066-1162 also remains to be covered.

³ *EEA* 2, xxxv.

⁴ *Fasti Monastic*, 5-6; see also I.2 above.

⁵ F.M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), 151.

Of the sixty canons issued for Canterbury Province in 1222, a quarter dealt directly with pastoral care.¹ A priest could not celebrate two masses in a day, except on Christmas and Easter.² The origins of this canon are unclear, but if mediaeval church attendance peaked at these festivals as it does today, this would have allowed the priest of a church too small for its congregation to offer mass twice, enabling more to attend. Each church was required to have appropriate books, utensils and vestments for liturgical celebration, though these are not listed.³ Every parish that could afford it was to have two or three priests so that divine service and visitation of the sick can continue if one priest is absent or ill.⁴ Parish clergy were commanded to preach and to visit the sick.⁵ Clergy were only to be admitted to vicarages if they pledged to reside and would be ordained to the priesthood soon.⁶ Perpetual vicarages were to be established ('ordained'), with a minimum stipend of five marks, or four marks for poorer parts of Wales.⁷ Priests were to be designated to hear the confessions of the clergy in each deanery.⁸ Injunctions were laid down for archdeacons concerning the manner of visiting and inspecting parish churches,⁹ while rural deans were forbidden to pass judgements in cases of matrimonial law.¹⁰ It does not appear that Langton went on visitations of his province to determine how effective his injunctions had been.¹¹

Langton died in July 1228; the next man to hold the see for any length of time was Edmund of Abingdon, from 1233 to 1240.¹² Edmund showed 'the distaste of the contemplative for business

¹ C&S II, 106-25, cited below by 'Oxford (1222)' and canon.

² Oxford (1222), 11.

³ Oxford (1222), 16.

⁴ Oxford (1222), 22.

⁵ Oxford (1222), 15.

⁶ Oxford (1222), 19; cf. also 20.

⁷ Oxford (1222), 21; cf. also 43.

⁸ Oxford (1222), 24.

⁹ Oxford (1222), 27-29; on the history of visitations, see W.H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. I (London, 1910).

¹⁰ Oxford (1222), 25.

¹¹ Frere, *Visitation*, 81.

¹² *Fasti Monastic*, 6-7.

affairs.¹ He was frequently tied up in crises in church and state,² but he had inherited many of Langton's most talented administrators.³ He attempted to visit his province in 1237 but was heavily opposed.⁴ He issued no known provincial or diocesan legislation. Lawrence argues that 'the large body of ordinances that were to be promulgated by the cardinal legate [Otto] in 1238 [*rectius* 1237], which displayed a detailed grasp of English problems, clearly reflected Edmund's concerns and advice':⁵ while the canons do show awareness of English conditions, other bishops may have had as much of a hand in advising the legate, including in discussions in the council's formal meetings.⁶ Importantly, this council was attended by prelates of, and was binding for, both English provinces.

The legatine council that met at St. Paul's Cathedral in November 1237 focused on improving the care of souls from the ground up.⁷ Otto invited Grosseteste to preach the opening sermon, a fair indication of his priorities.⁸ The reading of papal bulls encouraging the veneration of Sts. Francis and Dominic gave those orders an authoritative as well as a devotional boost.⁹ The sequence of canons begins with an order that churches be consecrated.¹⁰ The seven sacraments were next listed and their importance to the *cura animarum* stressed; accordingly, those undertaking the care of souls and priestly orders were to be examined in these in particular, while archdeacons were ordered to teach about baptism, penance, the mass and matrimony in ruridecanal chapters.¹¹ Perhaps reflecting a difference in English and Italian sensibilities, Otto ordered that baptisms only be done on Holy Saturday and on the Saturday after

¹ C.H. Lawrence, trans., *The Life of St. Edmund by Matthew Paris* (London, 1999), 39.

² Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 50-56, 70-89.

³ Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 57-69.

⁴ Frere, *Visitation*, 81.

⁵ Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 78-79.

⁶ *C&S II*, 238-39.

⁷ *C&S II*, 237-59; canons, cited below by 'Otto (1237)' and canon number, begin on 245.

⁸ *C&S II*, 238.

⁹ *C&S II*, 238, 243.

¹⁰ Otto (1237), prologue and 1.

¹¹ Otto (1237), 2.

Pentecost, except in special cases; and parish priests were ordered to preach frequently to convince the laity of the impropriety of other times. Otto immediately added an order to teach parishioners frequently the words for baptism in emergencies, showing awareness that such infrequent baptisms were a pastoral hazard in a society with high infant mortality.¹ Parish clergy were also forbidden to extort money in exchange for sacraments.²

The supervision of parish priests was regulated in the appointment of confessors for the clergy and the screening of candidates for ordination.³ Only priests, or deacons about to be ordained priests, could be made vicars, and upon institution a vicar was to renounce any other benefice with care of souls and reside in his parish.⁴ Abuses in archidiaconal visitations were reined in, and the visitors were directed to enquire about vessels, vestments, the conduct of the liturgy, and about the attention to spiritualities in general: implicitly, it was trustworthy laymen who were to be asked about the latter two points. Here Otto reiterated that archdeacons were to attend ruridecanal chapters frequently, instructing priests and others about the words of the canon of the mass and of baptism.⁵ Otto reminded bishops that they should perambulate their dioceses to correct and reform, consecrate churches and preach.⁶ As we will see in the chapters on Exeter and Lincoln, some bishops personally went on visitations of their dioceses.⁷ Most of the remaining canons dealt with improving ecclesiastical administration.

Edmund was succeeded by Boniface of Savoy, who, though elected in February 1241, was not consecrated until 1245 nor enthroned until 1249.⁸ He spent most of the 1240s abroad, including

¹ Otto (1237), 3.

² Otto (1237), 4.

³ Otto (1237), 5, 6.

⁴ Otto (1237), 10, 13.

⁵ Otto (1237), 20.

⁶ Otto (1237), 22.

⁷ For other examples, see Moorman, *Church Life*, 185-96.

⁸ *Fasti Monastic*, 7.

attending the First Council of Lyons.¹ His first move upon his return was towards eliminating the heavy debt in which the otherworldly Edmund, who was canonised under Boniface's oversight, had left the see.²

Boniface then attempted to visit his province; he encountered heavy opposition and travelled to Rome for papal backing, which he received.³ Another centralising enterprise was his establishment in 1251 of the Court of Arches to deal more efficiently with his judicial role as metropolitan.⁴ He jealously guarded his privileges (and perceived privileges) as Primate of All England and also the privileges and exemptions of the English Church *vis-à-vis* secular power.⁵ However, papal legations in 1263-64 and 1265-68 undermined his authority for their durations, and he left England in 1268, dying abroad two years later.⁶

Cardinal Ottobuono, legate 1265-68, held a council at London in 1268, legislating for both English provinces and for those of Ireland and Scotland as well.⁷ The canons issued there include several matters of pastoral import. Many were reiterations of Otto's material, such as those restricting the times of baptism,⁸ requiring vicars to be ordained and resident⁹ and preventing abuses in the visitation of churches,¹⁰ but some new points were added. The formula for pronouncing the absolution of a penitent was standardised, and obstructing prisoners' access to a priest for confession was prohibited.¹¹ Also forbidden was the impeding of the solemnisation of matrimony.¹² Bishops were exhorted to spend more time in their

¹ C.H. Knowles, 'Savoy, Boniface of (1206/7-1270)', *ODNB*.

² *C&S II*, 445-47; Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 39.

³ Knowles, 'Boniface'; *Chron. Maj.* V, 119-20; *ibid.* VI, 228-29; Frere, *Visitation*, 81-83; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration I*, 289-91.

⁴ F.D. Logan, ed., *The Medieval Court of Arches* (C&YS 95, 2005).

⁵ *C&S II*, 568-85, 659-92; F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953), 456-57.

⁶ Knowles, 'Boniface'; *C&S II*, 693-94, 725-92.

⁷ *C&S II*, 725-92, cited below as 'Ottobuono (1268)' with canon number.

⁸ Ottobuono (1268), 1, which states that Otto's canon was not being observed.

⁹ Ottobuono (1268), 9.

¹⁰ Ottobuono (1268), 18.

¹¹ Ottobuono (1268), 2.

¹² Ottobuono (1268), 13.

dioceses.¹ Attempts were made to reduce absentee pluralism and indirect simony.² To ensure that his decrees were followed, he ordered that every bishop, religious house and secular cathedral chapter keep a copy of his canons, and that they be read out in diocesan synods every year.³

Robert Kilwardby, the English Dominican Provincial Prior from 1261, was appointed to Canterbury by the Pope in autumn 1272 and was enthroned a year later; he was elevated to the Cardinal-Bishopric of Porto in 1278.⁴ Several provincial councils met during his archiepiscopate, but none issued canons.⁵ His records, along with a considerable stash of the see's valuables, went with him and were never recovered.⁶ Tactful provincial visitations enabled him to supervise administration (and thus indirectly the care of souls) in his suffragan dioceses.⁷

Because Kilwardby resigned his see into the hands of Nicholas III, that Pope was able directly to appoint John Pecham OFM, at that time lector at the papal *curia*. Pecham was enthroned in October 1279.⁸

Pecham, like Langton, was a pastoral theologian and vigorous reformer. In 1279, Pecham held a council of his suffragans at Reading at which he renewed some of Ottobuono's canons. The statutes of Otto and Ottobuono restricting baptisms to the vigils of Easter and Pentecost still were not being followed: Pecham mitigated this requirement, which clearly conflicted with English sensibilities, by stating that only those babies born within the octave preceding Easter

¹ Ottobuono (1268), 21.

² Ottobuono (1268), 29, 30, 33.

³ Ottobuono (1268), 36.

⁴ *Fasti Monastic*, 7; Trivet, *Annales*, 278-79.

⁵ *C&S* II, 802-17, 820-23, 824-26.

⁶ Smith, *Guide*, 1; Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 471n; D.L. Douie, *Archibishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), 54, 65-66.

⁷ S. Tugwell, 'Kilwardby, Robert (c.1215-1279)', *ODNB*.

⁸ *Fasti Monastic*, 7; Douie, *Pecham*, 47-52.

and Pentecost should be kept for baptism on the Saturdays before them, and then only if it could be done without danger; because simple laity cannot always be expected to remember the formula of emergency baptism perfectly, parents of children born in the rest of the year may choose whether to wait for one of these dates or have their infant baptised sooner.¹

Pecham held another and more celebrated provincial council at Lambeth in October 1281, at which he promulgated a lengthy series of statutes aimed at improving the care of souls at the parish level and the superstructure that governed it.² The pastorally-oriented decrees cover the sacraments and preaching.

After his prologue, Pecham dealt first with the Eucharist, insisting that the consecrated host be treated with due reverence, including how it was kept as reserved sacrament. He also ordered that a bell be rung at the elevation in daily masses so that the people, who did not always go to daily mass, might hear it and genuflect; he noted that many bishops had granted indulgences to those who did so. Priests were to inform their parishioners that they receive the body and blood of Christ together under the form of bread alone,³ and that the unconsecrated wine they were given was only to wash down the host: Pecham forbade any but the celebrant to consume the consecrated wine in parish churches.⁴ In his canon on baptism he made no mention of restricted times.⁵ His discussion of penance concerns only serious sins, excommunication and public penance, insisting that canonical penances be assigned for such serious sins as incest and voluntary homicide.⁶

The most celebrated canon of this council is *De informatione simplicium sacerdotum*, better known by its opening, '*Ignorancia*

¹ C&S II, 836.

² C&S II, 886-918; canons from 892.

³ Cf. Pecham's statement in his Eucharistic hymn *Ave, vivens Hostia*: 'Veritas substantie, tota Salvatoris', which seems to refer to the host alone: *Epist. Pecham* III, cxv.

⁴ C&S II, 894-95.

⁵ C&S II, 896-97.

⁶ C&S II, 898-900; also 905-07.

sacerdotum'. This canon is a syllabus for preaching to the laity. It begins:

The ignorance of priests casts the people into the pit of error;¹ and the foolishness or simplicity of clerics, who are appointed by canonical prescription to instruct the children of the faithful, sometimes makes for greater headway in error than in doctrine. ... In remedy of which crisis we direct by establishing that each priest guarding laity shall explain to the populace in the vernacular, four times in a year – that is, once in each quarter-year – on one solemn day or several, by himself or through another, without any fanciful weaving of subtleties: the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments of the decalogue, the two precepts of the Gospel – namely, the twofold love – also the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, with their offspring, the seven cardinal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. And lest anyone should excuse himself from the foresaid through ignorance of that which moreover all ministers of the Church are obliged to know, we shall tie it up in a brief summary.²

This list of articles and the schedule of frequency constituted a catechetical programme. But the remainder of this canon is a catechism, not only because it gives a standardised formula of what the laity ought to know, but also because of the dissemination it was supposed to achieve, a copy in every parish in Canterbury Province.³

¹ Cf. Luke 6:39.

² 'Ignorancia sacerdotum populum precipitat in foveam erroris; et clericorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui diffinitione canonica filios fidelium instruere iubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit quam doctrinam. ... In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo precipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta. Et ne quis a predictis per ignorantiam se excuset, que tamen omnes ministri ecclesie scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.' *C&S II*, 900-01.

³ In the 1297 St. Paul's visitations of 22 parishes, nine churches had no copy, one church had an apparently complete copy, and the remaining twelve apparently had copies described as 'deficient'. In these particular records the word 'deficit' or 'deficiunt' may mean present but incomplete. Simpson, *1297 Visitations*. This canon had a significant afterlife. Copies 'were widely diffused apart from the other canons of the council; it was taken over by John Thoresby, archbishop of York, in 1372': *C&S II*, 888. It was recycled by archbishop Arundel in his early fifteenth-century constitutions as the only subjects on which clergy were permitted to preach as part of his crackdown on Lollardy: C.J. Fraser, 'The Religious Instruction of the Laity in Late Medieval England' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1995), 62.

Boyle observed that Pecham's preaching syllabus 'assumes rather than imparting information.'¹ This is a key point. Pecham was one of the intellectual elite even among his fellow friars, and in his prologue he did not mince words when lambasting parish clergy of modest ability. Before accepting his scathing remarks at face value, we should note that he has built upon an assumption of prior knowledge even when explicitly writing so that even the 'ignorant' have no excuse. Ignorance is a relative term, and Pecham looked down from considerable intellectual heights.

Pecham was a complex character. Though a theologian, like St. Edmund and Kilwardby, his attitude towards his suffragans was just as autocratic and stubborn as Boniface's, producing similar results of entrenched local opposition to what was seen as unjustified outside meddling.² While Pecham's activism probably pushed through some reforms, it may also have created a counter-productive atmosphere of nonconformity amongst aggrieved churchmen in his province.

Pecham died in December 1292 and was succeeded by Robert Winchelsey, a Paris and Oxford alumnus and archdeacon of Essex from 1288.³ Winchelsey was heavily involved in defending ecclesiastical liberties against the financial encroachments of Edward I, yet he also found time for visitations of the nearer parts of his province.⁴ Some of his visitation business may be reflected in his 'so-called statutes', but it is not possible to disentangle when or even whether these were promulgated.⁵ He died in 1313.⁶

¹ L. Boyle, 'The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula,' *TRHS* 5th s. 5, (1955), 82.

² Douie, *Pecham*, 143-234; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* I, 291-92, 295-304.

³ *Fasti* St. Paul's, 14.

⁴ J.H. Denton, 'Winchelsey, Robert (c.1240-1313)', *ODNB*; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* I, 305-07; *Reg. Winchelsey*, xvi-xx.

⁵ *C&S* II, 1382-93.

⁶ *Fasti* Monastic, 8.

III.2: The Diocesan Statutes of Bishop Richard Poore¹

Richard Poore, student of Stephen Langton and Master of Sacred Scripture at Paris, was dean of Salisbury Cathedral (1197-1214) and bishop successively of Chichester (1215-17), Salisbury (1217-28), and Durham (1228-37).² As dean of Salisbury, he revised the liturgy; the result (Sarum Rite) was recognised as a superior liturgy and soon predominated in England and Scotland.³ As bishop of Chichester, he attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁴ Between 1217 and 1219, as bishop of Salisbury, he wrote a lengthy set of diocesan statutes, heavily pastoral, theological and sacramental in focus; he reissued them in Durham when he became bishop there.⁵ In writing these, he drew upon many sources, sometimes adjusting the emphasis or language. Likewise, his statutes were borrowed liberally by other bishops in England and Scotland in the remainder of the century, going through further mutations. Because they were promulgated wholesale not only in Salisbury and Durham but also in Canterbury and were influential elsewhere, they are a useful benchmark against which the statutes of other dioceses can be compared and contrasted.

Diocesan statutes typically contain a mixture of borrowings from other diocesan and provincial statutes and canon law, along with *de novo* composition. The most important of Poore's sources were

¹ Similar issues were dealt with in *Bishops and Reform*, esp. 117-30. Since then, D. Wilkins' *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* (1737) has been thoroughly superseded by C&S I and II. These works include not only better texts of the statutes but also the fruits of a considerable amount of detective scholarship, particularly by C.R. Cheney, sorting out the many problems of dating and attribution of the statutes: see *Eng. Synodalia*; C.R. Cheney, *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973); and *idem*, *The English Church and its Laws, 12th-14th Centuries* (London, 1982). On the Scottish statutes, see D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000); *Concilia Scotiae* II (notes in vol. I). Cheney in *Eng. Synodalia*, 51-89, also dealt with the sources and derivatives of Poore's statutes, but worked with them as texts only with little reference to theology.

² For biographical detail, see *EEA* 18, liv-lxi, *EEA* 24, xxiv-xxvi; *Fasti* Salisbury, 4; *Fasti* Monastic, 30-31; and sources cited in them.

³ N. Morgan, 'The Introduction of the Sarum Calendar into the Dioceses of England in the Thirteenth Century', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, ed., *Thirteenth Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2001), 179-206.

⁴ C&S II, 48.

⁵ These are printed in C&S II, 57-96 and will be cited below as Salisbury I with numbers referring to the chapters of the statutes. For their reissue in Durham, see *ibid.* 201.

Gratian's *Decretum*;¹ the diocesan statutes of Odo de Sully, bishop of Paris, *circa* 1204;² Archbishop Langton's statutes for Canterbury diocese, 1213 x 1214;³ and the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils.⁴ As Poore's statutes have 115 chapters and take up thirty-eight pages of text, what follows will be selective. After considering some individual statutes with their sources, theological significance and afterlives, we will assess the overall impact of Poore's statutes on both the genre of diocesan statutes and the life of the English and Scottish Churches.

One of Poore's *de novo* compositions is chapter 12, *De bono pacis*, 'on the Good of peace', in which Poore admonished his parish clergy to live peaceably and to settle disputes among their parishioners.⁵ This statute shows several important characteristics that fit well with its author. First, it contains two biblical paraphrases; Poore had lectured on the Bible, and his statutes are peppered with scriptural allusions. Its main source is the work of a Parisian theologian: the distinctive threefold peace – eternal, temporal, and of the heart – is found in Peter the Chanter's *Verbum Abbreviatum*.⁶ 'Recalling the discordant to concord' echoes Gratian's *Decretum*.⁷ Here we see a scholar-bishop applying his erudition and the latest theology to the nitty-gritty details of life in the rural parish. Kemp has described Poore as being highly regarded in his day as a wise reconciler in his legal judgements and arbitrations: this statute is

¹ PL CLXXXVII.

² These were the most seminal diocesan statutes in thirteenth-century Latin Europe. O. Pontal, ed. and trans., *Les Statuts Synodaux Français du XIIIe Siècle, Tome I: Les Statuts de Paris et Le Synodal de l'Ouest (XIIIe Siècle)* (Paris, 1971). They are dated *vers* 1204 in O. Pontal, *Les Statuts Synodaux* (Turnhout, 1975), 44; but the later statutes in the series are accretions up to 1214: Pontal, *Statuts I*, 40-46.

³ C&S II, 23-36. These are referred to below as Canterbury I with numbers referring to the chapters of the statutes.

⁴ DEC 205-25 and 227-71, respectively.

⁵ C&S II, 64.

⁶ *Verbum Abbreviatum*, 921. I am indebted to Joseph Goering for this observation (personal communication, November 2003).

⁷ PL CLXXXVII, 425.

intimately related to Poore's character and his priorities for pastoral care.¹

Poore's statutes were borrowed wholesale by Archbishop Langton and reissued by him in Canterbury diocese, replacing the shorter set that Langton had issued a few years before.² When Poore was translated to Durham in 1228, he reissued his statutes there.³ Statutes issued for Durham's jurisdictional peculiars in the 1240s followed substantial parts of Poore's Durham text *verbatim*, including *De bono pacis*.⁴ Statutes written at Exeter between 1225 and 1237, which follow Poore's statutes closely, include an altered version of this chapter.⁵

Half the material in Poore's statutes concerns the sacraments directly, and much else concerns them indirectly. Chapter 15 listed the seven sacraments; Poore also gave a homiletic chapter on each sacrament before the chapters treating it. The list of seven sacraments was first set out by Peter Lombard in Book IV of his *Sentences*, finished around 1158; it was not officially affirmed until 1439, and well into the thirteenth century it remained primarily a matter of discussion among theologians.⁶ Both Odo de Sully's ca. 1204 Paris statutes and Langton's 1213 x 1214 Canterbury statutes mention all seven sacraments, but nowhere are they listed or enumerated. Poore was the first bishop in England to list the seven explicitly in his statutes, and indeed there was hardly any other pastoral literature accessible to parish clergy at this time that did so. For instance, the seven are listed in *De septem sacramentis ecclesie* by William de Montibus, but this is a series of academic *quaestiones* reflecting classroom use. It may have been used in his teaching at Lincoln

¹ *EEA* 18, lvii, lix; B. Kemp, 'God's and the King's Good Servant: Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 359-78.

² *C&S* II, 165-67, and known as Canterbury II; the chapter numbers are the same as Salisbury I.

³ *C&S* II, 201, and known as Durham I; the chapter numbers are the same as Salisbury I.

⁴ *C&S* II, 435-45, and known as Durham Peculiars. *De bono pacis* is c. 10.

⁵ *C&S* II, 227-37; these are fragmentary and are known as Exeter I. The form of *De bono pacis* is chapter 10.

⁶ *ODCC*, 'Peter Lombard' and 'Sacrament'. For Lombard's text, see PL CXCII, 841-42.

Cathedral, but even then it would have been of limited availability. We cannot tell whether William's *Tractatus metricus de septem sacramentis ecclesie* was better circulated. Significantly, William did not list the sacraments among other groups of seven in his *Numerale*.¹ Poore's chapter 15, *De septem sacramentis*, was repeated *verbatim* in the same dioceses as *De bono pacis*, and nearly *verbatim* in London.² While Poore aimed at being thorough in the homiletic nature of his statutes, other bishops were more concise. Poore's successor at Salisbury, Giles of Bridport, wrote a condensed version, which was condensed still further by Richard de Wich, bishop of Chichester.³ However, Peter Quinel, bishop of Exeter, issued a substantially longer version in his statutes of 1287.⁴

Many dioceses therefore did not have lists of the sacraments in their statutes, the single most pervasive genre of *pastoralia*. Pecham included a list in his provincial canons of 1281,⁵ but York and Carlisle dioceses, not under his jurisdiction, would have to wait longer still. If any Scottish statutes included a list, they have not survived. Poore's statutes were thus ahead of most of Great Britain in defining the seven sacraments.

We have seen above in I.6 and II.6 that the theology and practice of penance were developing at this time, including in differences over how often the laity should confess. Injunctions generally fell into two groups: those enjoining confession once annually, at the beginning of Lent,⁶ and those enjoining it thrice, at the beginning of the fasting periods preceding Christmas and Pentecost as well.⁷ In all cases, confession is timed to precede physical reception of the Eucharist.

¹ J. Goering, *William de Montibus* (Toronto, 1992), 472-96, 158-78, 255-56.

² *C&S II*, 634.

³ *C&S II*, 367-68, 452.

⁴ *C&S II*, 985-86.

⁵ *C&S II*, 905.

⁶ E.g. Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, PL CXL, 949.

⁷ Gratian, *Decretum*, PL CLXXXVII, at 1738-39; A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937), 271. These canons enjoined thrice-annual reception of the Eucharist; preceding each by confession was likely assumed.

Poore's main sources fell on different sides of the issue. The Paris statutes directed priests to admonish their parishioners to confess at least at the beginning of Lent.¹ Langton's Canterbury statute was less clearly worded, but favoured the thrice-annual version.² Both of these anticipated the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, which ordered that once was the minimum.³

Poore ignored the Paris statute and produced an admirable synthesis of Langton's Canterbury statute and the Lateran decree that had superseded it. He retained Langton's thrice-annual standard but clarified the text. One senses that he wanted to enforce thrice-annual confession under the penalties of the Lateran decree, but in what reads like a grudging concession, he gave the Lateran's once-annual standard as the minimum.⁴ This statute was repeated in Canterbury, Exeter and Durham as per usual, though not in Durham's peculiars, plus in London, Winchester, and in the second statutes of Exeter.⁵ Grosseteste did not discuss it in his Lincoln statutes of ca. 1239, but he reflected the ambivalence in his earlier *Templum Dei*: the laity should receive the Eucharist at least once per year, or thrice, preceded each time by fasting and confession.⁶ Bishop Richard considered that the standard of Lateran IV was good enough for the diocese of Chichester.⁷ Once was also the standard given in Aberdeen.⁸ But William of Bitton, bishop of Wells, reasoned that if thrice per year was good, then four times was better, but he followed Poore in making once per year the absolute minimum.⁹ The Wells statutes were copied *verbatim* in Carlisle and York dioceses.¹⁰

¹ Pontal, *Statuts* I, 64.

² Canterbury I, 43.

³ DEC, 245.

⁴ C&S II, 72-73.

⁵ C&S II, 165-67, 236-37, 201, 639, 705, 992.

⁶ *Templum*, 44. *Templum Dei* dates from 1219 x c.1225, at least a decade before Grosseteste's episcopate: Goering, 'When and Where', 29.

⁷ C&S II, 454.

⁸ *Concilia Scotiae* II, 32. The Aberdeen statutes are nos. 56-86.

⁹ C&S II, 593.

¹⁰ C&S II, 626-28, 658.

A more theological aspect of penance was the evolution of tariffed penance into a form in which the priest had increasing flexibility in determining penances. The doctrine that circumstances alter cases had been around for centuries, but just how much they altered cases was a matter of debate.¹ A related movement was the consideration of true contrition, not confession, acts of satisfaction or sacerdotal absolution, as the agent of reconciliation to God, and hence of forgiveness of sin.²

Hubert Walter's Canterbury provincial statutes of 1200 included a passage indebted to Gratian's *Decretum* ordering that priests consider circumstances when assigning penances.³ Langton repeated it almost *verbatim* in Canterbury diocese.⁴ 'Devotion of the soul' is one of the *consideranda* in both: is this the same as contrition? Apparently not, for Poore borrowed this passage but added 'the signs of contrition' to the end of the list.⁵ Thus Poore became the first English bishop to mention contrition in a statute.

This text was copied in the usual places – Canterbury, Exeter, Durham, and Durham's peculiars.⁶ It was also copied in Aberdeen via Exeter.⁷ The bishop of Wells condensed the list to its kernel: the nature and contrition of the penitent.⁸ He followed this with another of Poore's statutes, stating that the priest should look down at the ground, not at the penitent's face,⁹ 'except to the point that from the

¹ E.g. J.T. McNeill and H. Gamer, ed. and trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938), 245, 267; Little, *Religious Poverty*, 189.

² According to Teetaert, St. Anselm was the first to argue this: A. Teetaert, *La Confession aux Laïques dans l'Église Latine* (Louvain, 1926), 103. For the agreement of Langton and his contemporaries, see *ibid.* 180-81. Vernacular English homilies also started treating contrition as a matter of greater importance in the twelfth century: no subject showed a more dramatic rise in incidence between pre-1100 and 1100-1225 material. K. Greenfield, 'Changing Emphases in English Vernacular Homiletic Literature, 960-1225', *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 283-97. S. Hamilton, 'Penance in the Age of Gregorian Reform', in *SCH* 40 (2004), 47-73, argues that this trend predated Anselm.

³ PL CLXXXVII, 1631; C&S I, 1062.

⁴ C&S II, 32.

⁵ C&S II, 71.

⁶ C&S II, 165-67, 235, 201, 441.

⁷ *Concilia Scotiae* II, 32.

⁸ C&S II, 594.

⁹ C&S II, 73; cf. Pontal, *Statuts* I, 62.

face and countenance he may judge the contrition of [the penitent's] heart.'¹ This too was copied in Carlisle and York dioceses.²

The text of his statute suggests that Poore believed that forgiveness was wrought by 'true confession' to a priest, not by contrition. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians were often obliged to do some mental gymnastics on this question: they wished both to affirm the doctrine of intents, so that someone who died wishing to confess but lacking the opportunity should be reckoned by God as having confessed; and simultaneously to uphold the absolute necessity of confession.³ Poore's text was copied in Exeter I, London II and Aberdeen. When Bishop Quinel borrowed from Exeter I for Exeter II in 1287, he deleted the clause 'remission of sins comes through true confession', and added a reference to Luke 17, which some theologians had used to argue that sin was forgiven when one was on the way to confession – that is, when one became truly contrite – and not in confession or absolution.⁴ Quinel included the instruction that the priest was only to look at the penitent to judge the contrition and blushing of his heart, describing this as 'the greatest part of penance';⁵ Peter the Chanter had used the same words in the same context.⁶ Quinel was apparently trying to drive home that contrition is the operative force. We cannot be certain that Poore disagreed with this, but parish priests reading what Poore wrote were likely to.

As a liturgist, Poore had been thinking about the mass for a long time in the context of living ritual. Poore was not the first English bishop to use a statute to tell priests to admonish the laity to bow and show reverence to the Eucharist: Langton had done so four years

¹ C&S II, 594.

² C&S II, 626-28.

³ P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence* (Louvain, 1949), and Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*.

⁴ Anciaux, *La Théologie*, 171. It must be said, however, that other theologians had read it as a command to go to sacerdotal confession: *ibid.*, *passim*.

⁵ 'maxima pars penitentie.' C&S II, 992.

⁶ 'Prima, ut homo confitendo peccatum suum erubescit in facie sacerdotis, quod est maxima pars penitentie.' Quoted by Teetaert, *Confession aux Laïques*, 166n, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. lat. 14445, fol. 199r.

previously, and Poore copied him.¹ However, Poore was the first English bishop to use the word ‘transubstantiated’ (*transubstantiatis*) in a statute, one of his *de novo* compositions. This statute reads, in part: ‘you ought to instruct the laity ... that ... they receive under the species of bread what hung for us upon the cross; they receive from the chalice what flowed from the side of Christ’.² It is clear from the words ‘they receive from the chalice’ that Poore disagreed with the current trend to withhold the chalice from the laity. This was done, it appears, because of the danger of spills. Cleaning up spills was strictly governed: early mediaeval penitentials had generally directed that the priest at fault should lick up the spill, or rinse it out of the altar-cloths and drink the water.³ Bishop Odo de Sully of Paris ordered that, if the chalice was spilled on clothing, that part of the clothing should be burned and the ashes washed down the piscina.⁴

Poore included none of this material. Cheney commented that Poore ‘saved space by avoiding those contingencies which seldom arise’.⁵ But considering the thousands of masses celebrated daily in parish churches, perhaps these contingencies were not really so unlikely; Bishop Odo apparently did not think them so, nor did a later French bishop.⁶ When Bishop Fulk of London wrote his statutes, based indirectly on Poore’s, he also consulted the Paris statutes and put this material back in.⁷ Perhaps there was a connection: despite holding the Eucharist in great reverence, Poore allowed the laity the chalice because he was not so concerned about spills and suchlike as many of his contemporaries.

Significantly, the text implying giving the laity the chalice was not altered when it was repeated in Canterbury diocese by Langton,

¹ C&S II, 33, 79.

² C&S II, 77-78: ‘Insuper debetis instruere laicos quotiens communicant quod de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi nullo modo dubitent. Nam hoc accipiunt procudubio sub panis specie quod pro nobis pependit in cruce, hoc accipiunt in calice quod effusum est de Christi latere’.

³ McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 116, 278, 310; cf. Flamborough, *Liber*, 266-67.

⁴ Pontal, *Statuts* I, 80.

⁵ *Eng. Synodalia*, 52.

⁶ Pontal, *Statuts* I, 144-46.

⁷ *Eng. Synodalia*, 52, 79-84; cf. C&S II, 642 with Pontal, *Statuts* I, 80.

nor in Durham's peculiars, suggesting that it was acceptable practice there.¹ However, the bishop of Wells cut it out, and thus it is also out of the Carlisle and York statutes copied from his.² The text was probably in the lost part of the earlier Exeter statutes, for in 1287, Bishop Quinel of Exeter based his statute on that of Wells but put this passage back in.³ Clearly, the bishops of some dioceses were willing to give the chalice to the laity; but had they not copied Poore's text, we should never know it.

In the thirteenth century, thirty-two diocesan constitutions (sets of statutes) were issued in fifteen of England's seventeen dioceses.⁴ None is known for Wales and only two (and what may be a fragment of a third) for Scotland, though record survival was poorer in these places and some may have been lost. The Salisbury statutes were only the second of all these, so it is no surprise, based on timing alone, that they should be influential. How influential were they? Cheney wrote that 'by about the middle of the century, the statutes of Salisbury lose the pre-eminent importance which they at first possessed' in favour of Grosseteste's Lincoln statutes.⁵ In fact, however, the direct and indirect borrowing of Poore's texts continued unabated even up to the last major set of thirteenth-century statutes, Exeter II, which incorporates substantial amounts of Salisbury I, albeit second- or third-hand.

Langton's first statutes were in some sense more fundamental; but Poore changed the genre of statutes altogether by filling them with homiletic material. No longer merely guides to clerical discipline, statutes were now pamphlets on the theology and practice of the care

¹ *C&S* II, 165-67, 442.

² *C&S* II, 592.

³ *C&S* II, 991.

⁴ Not counting the ca. 1200 statutes of unknown provenance in *C&S* I, 1070-74, nor Durham Peculiars, nor the archidiaconal statutes of London. The only English dioceses not known to have had statutes issued between 1200 and 1300 are Hereford and Rochester. However, two sets of English diocesan statutes exist which have not been positively associated with any diocese, and nothing would prevent them from having been issued in either of these dioceses. *C&S* II, 139-54 and 181-97.

⁵ *Eng. Synodalia*, 89.

of souls. Some bishops put less homiletic material in the statutes but appended *summulae*; this merely amounts to reorganisation of the material. By contrast, the Lincoln statutes were not conceived as *pastoralia* in their own right and offer little in the way of homiletic material: in this they were not influential. Although Bishop Bitton of Wells rewrote much of Poore's homiletic material, he was still writing in the form and manner that Poore established; Bishop Quinel of Exeter merged the Salisbury and Wells material and appended a manual on confession.¹ By 1287 there was much additional material from three intervening provincial councils and two ecumenical councils; nonetheless, Richard Poore's influence remained strong in the textual informing of the English parish clergy and in how they worked to serve and influence society.

¹ This manual too was borrowed: see J. Goering and D. Taylor, 'The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe and Peter Quinel', *Speculum* 67 (1992), 576-94.

III.3: The Diocese of Lincoln

The historian of Lincoln diocese in the thirteenth century is faced with a true embarrassment of documentary riches. Lincoln was the largest diocese in the kingdom, stretching from the Humber to the Thames, comprising over 1900 parishes (nearly one-fourth of English and Welsh parishes), divided amongst eight archdeaconries, twice as many as any other English diocese (save York with five).¹ It may have been due to the vastness of the see and the attendant administrative difficulties that Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln from 1209 to 1235, systematised the record-keeping process. His episcopal register, the earliest known to have existed in England, has survived, along with those of most of his successors, giving the historian a continuity of documentation paralleled only in York in this century.² Moreover, England's first and largest university, Oxford, lay within the diocese, supplying the historian with its records and supplying the diocese with a storehouse of talent upon which the diocesan administration could draw: at least six of the archdeaconries were held by Oxford men at some point,³ and doubtless some less well documented administrators, such as the archdeacons' officials, had some of their education in the Oxford schools.⁴ Bishops Grosseteste, Sutton and (probably) Gravesend, who among them ruled the diocese for nearly six decades, were likewise drawn from Oxford.

Throughout this thesis, a balance is being attempted between breadth and depth in geographical surveying, for much must be left unexplored for lack of space. Nowhere is this problem more acute than in studying Lincoln diocese due to the vast extent of both the diocese and its records. Each successive bishop's contributions and other general changes will be reviewed in the section A of this chapter, but

¹ R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1992), 235-36.

² Smith, *Guide*.

³ *Fasti* Lincoln, 25-47; *BRUO* as cited there. The archdeaconries without known Oxford men at the helm were Northampton and Stow.

⁴ For two examples, see *BRUO*, 1625, 1626.

there will be no attempt to discuss, for instance, every mendicant house. Section B will consider the northernmost archdeaconries, Lincoln and Stow, and section C will focus on the archdeaconry of Oxford in the southwest of the diocese. The other five archdeaconries (Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester, Buckingham and Bedford) must receive only incidental mention.

A. The Bishops of Lincoln and Pastoral Leadership

In 1200, Hugh of Avalon, a former Carthusian monk and future saint, had been bishop for fourteen years and was coming to the close of his life. According to Mayr-Harting, Hugh was a close disciple of Gregory the Great's *Regulae Pastoralis Liber* in matters of the care of souls, and had 'personal connections with the theology schools of Paris... [and] the concepts particularly of Peter the Chanter'.¹ In practice, these influences led him to an emphasis on the role of the sacraments, encouraging lay participation in church life, and clerical residence. In sacramental life, Hugh himself confessed weekly and maintained a system of diocesan confessors to hear the confessions of the clergy, as the Fourth Lateran Council would mandate years later;² Adam of Eynsham and Gerald of Wales, his principal biographers, both wrote of his devotion in giving confirmation to children when they were brought to him on the road, pausing his journey and dismounting his horse, however tired he was.³ Around 1192 he founded a fraternity to which he granted special religious privileges,⁴ and he directed his archdeacons to enjoin parish priests to encourage renewed lay participation in processions at Pentecost.⁵ While both measures aimed at increasing income for rebuilding the cathedral, they did so in ways designed to promote devotion. He insisted that

¹ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln [St Hugh of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon]', *ODNB*.

² Mary-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln'.

³ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, ed. and trans. D.L. Douie and D.H. Farmer (Oxford, 1985), vol. I, 127-28; Gerald, *Opera* VII, 94-96. Gerald also recorded Hugh's devotion in visiting the sick (*ibid.*, 107), which may have involved anointing, shriving, and other sacramental functions.

⁴ *EEA* 4, 97. This damaged document is also printed in *Reg. Ant.* II, 381, misattributed to Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235, and associated with the end of the papal interdict in 1213-14.

⁵ *Reg. Ant.* I, 298, *EEA* 4, 92.

canons of Lincoln Cathedral 'should treat their positions as ones of pastoral care, and should actually reside at Lincoln', according to Mayr-Harting, who considers this 'an exceptionally rigorous stance'.¹ This would directly benefit pastoral care in prebendal benefices in or near Lincoln, such as All Saints in Hungate, but one does wonder whether a policy of residence at more distant benefices such as Aylesbury (at the southern end of the diocese), rather than the cathedral, might not have been more beneficial in this respect: nonetheless, keeping capable administrators on hand would be a distinct improvement upon allowing prebends to be treated as sinecures. A former monk, Hugh permitted appropriation of parish churches to monastic houses; he often, though not always, ordained perpetual vicarages in them.² In allowing some vicars to be non-resident, serving through chaplains, he followed accepted practice, though the tide was turning against it elsewhere.³ Adam of Eynsham recorded that Hugh was diligent in instituting men of knowledge and character to the parish churches in the diocese, which suggests examination of candidates.⁴

William of Blois followed Hugh as bishop in 1203. William had been a Master of Arts at Paris, and served in the household of the bishop of Durham in the 1180s before serving at Lincoln successively as subdean and precentor.⁵ John de Schalby, registrar of Bishop Oliver Sutton at the end of the century and biographer of the bishops of Lincoln down to 1320, called him 'a literate and kind man',⁶ but even with the diocesan archive at his disposal, Schalby could find little of note about him. Many of Hugh of Avalon's administrators

¹ Mayr-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln'.

² E.g. *EEA* 4, 39, 50; but it was left to his successor Hugh of Wells to ordain vicarages in some others, e.g. *ibid.*, 48, 49 (*Rot. Hug.* I, 205).

³ D.M. Smith, 'Hugh's Administration of Lincoln Diocese', in H. Mayr-Harting, ed., *St. Hugh of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987), 19-47, at 38-39.

⁴ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, vol. II, p. 96.

⁵ *EEA* 4, xxiii; *Fasti Lincoln*, 3, 13, 22.

⁶ John de Schalby, 'Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln', printed in Gerald, *Opera* VII, 193-216, at 202.

continued to serve him,¹ and some of his *acta* mirror those of his predecessor.² He seems to have effected no new departures in pastoral care before his death in 1206.

William of Blois was succeeded in 1209 by Hugh of Wells, a royal clerk. Hugh had also served as household clerk to successive bishops of Bath and Wells, to which diocese his younger brother Jocelin was elected bishop in 1206, and as archdeacon of Wells from 1204.³ No stranger to Lincoln, he had been royal custodian of the diocese during the vacancy between Hugh of Avalon and William of Blois⁴ and was made a canon there on 25 March 1203.⁵ Bishop Hugh, sometimes known to historians as Hugh II, remained abroad during the interdict, returning to his see in 1213. He lingered abroad after attending the Fourth Lateran Council and returned to royal service from time to time, but devoted most of his attention to his diocese.⁶

Though no theologian, Hugh was an energetic and diligent bishop who kept close watch on the care of souls at the parochial level. From the historian's perspective, his most outstanding feature was his extensive and systematic keeping of records, probably a legacy of his royal administration. In addition to the first known rolls of institutions of vicars and rectors, he commissioned, in the mid-1220s, the *Registrum Antiquissimum*, a compilation of some 874 charters and documents relevant to the diocese and cathedral, now printed (with 2,106 additional documents) in ten volumes.⁷ Moreover, he appears to have had a *matriculus*, a detailed parish-by-parish survey, compiled for each archdeaconry, though only that of Leicester survives.⁸

¹ *EEA* 4, xxvii-xxviii.

² For instance, those regarding processions at Pentecost and the fraternity of the cathedral (*EEA* 4, 256, 258).

³ *Fasti* Wells, 33.

⁴ D.M. Smith, 'Wells, Hugh of (d. 1235)', *ODNB*.

⁵ *Fasti* Lincoln, 129.

⁶ Smith, 'Wells, Hugh of'.

⁷ *Reg. Ant.* I-X.

⁸ *Rot. Hug.* I, 238-72.

Likewise, the existence of a charter roll for the archdeaconry of Northampton suggests that similar documents for the other archdeaconries were compiled.¹ Hugh of Wells continued Hugh of Avalon's emphasis on residence of the canons by augmenting, through appropriation, the income of resident canons, which would make more available for diocesan administration.² He had a book compiled of the perpetual vicarages he ordained or confirmed following the order of the Fourth Lateran Council on that subject.³ The careful stipulations in vicarage ordinations of whether the rector or vicar was to bear the cost of hospitality for the archdeacon suggest that Hugh of Wells kept his archdeacons in the field, keeping an eye on the parish clergy.⁴ The efficient administration of the vast diocese made possible by such records and bureaucracy must have served Hugh and his successors well. Strangely, John de Schalby, who kept and used these records, wrote even less about him than about William of Blois;⁵ but the records of Hugh's episcopate are so much greater than those of his predecessor that much can be known about Hugh and the care of souls.

Obeying the Fourth Lateran Council's mandate that perpetual vicarages be ordained in all churches served by vicars, Hugh ordained hundreds of perpetual vicarages.⁶ The result for pastoral care throughout the diocese would be greater security for the parish priest, enabling him to build more solid relationships with the community for which he was responsible. Perhaps this made the priesthood a more attractive career and thus aided recruitment in the diocese, but the

¹ *Rot. Hug.* II, 183-272.

² *Acta of Hugh*, 135, 379.

³ A. Gibbons, ed., *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarum* (Lincoln, 1888); *DEC*, 249-50.

⁴ Such arrangements are frequently recorded in his ordinations of vicarages in *Rot. Hug.* I-III and Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*. On the role of the archdeacon see D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), 34-36.

⁵ John de Schalby, 'Bishops of Lincoln', 203-04.

⁶ The exact total cannot be known, as the rolls for Lincoln and Leicester archdeaconries are lost, and some of those extant are known to be reiterations or revisions of ordinations by his predecessors (Smith, 'Wells, Hugh of '). For the six extant rolls, see *Rot. Hug.* I, 177-210. Others may be found scattered through the institution rolls and the *Reg. Ant.* He appears to have obeyed Canon 21 of Archbishop Langton's provincial Council of Oxford (1222), requiring all new vicarages to be worth at least five marks, as he specifically invoked the clause in ordaining a vicarage later that year: *Acta of Hugh*, 188; *C&S* II, 112-13.

records can give no indication. This procedure also ensured that parishes that needed to be served by several clergy would be supplied with them.¹

Bishop Hugh was also diligent in ensuring that the clergy charged with the care of souls were continent, sufficiently educated, resident in their parishes, and sufficiently ordained. His institution rolls record fifteen cases of suspected or convicted incontinence or clerical marriage.² The real figure must have been much higher, for clergy only appeared in these rolls when being instituted as rectors or vicars, though occasionally the reasons for deposing a cleric were given when his replacement's institution was enrolled. However, we can learn Hugh's policy from these records: a first offence was penanced,³ while recidivism resulted in deprivation of the benefice, which was threatened in numerous instances⁴ but is only recorded to have happened twice.⁵ A charter from 1218 x 1230 indicates that archidiaconal visitation of parishes was an annual event in the archdeaconry of Bedford,⁶ and it likely was elsewhere in the diocese; clerical misbehaviour in this and other regards would thus be checked.

The threat of deprivation was also used to encourage presentees to obtain sufficient education. Hugh rejected one presentee on grounds of illiteracy, probably 1217 x 1218.⁷ Other candidates had periods of study enjoined upon them, generally one or two years. 'It is enjoined that he frequent the schools and learn' (*Iniunctum est quod scolae frequentet et addiscat*) is the usual form in the rolls, but abundant variations demonstrate that each man was examined individually and his particular deficiencies remedied. For instance, fourteen men were ordered to learn to sing,⁸ and another was

¹ E.g. *Rot. Hug.* I, 178.

² *Rot. Hug.* I, 79, 87-88, 96, 97, 148; II, 23, 72; III, 34, 39, 103, 109, 110, 117, 117-18.

³ See e.g. *Rot. Hug.* III, 34, 39, 109, 110, 117.

⁴ See e.g. *Rot. Hug.* I, 79, 97; cf. 96.

⁵ *Rot. Hug.* II, 23, 72.

⁶ R. Ransford, ed., *Early Charters of Waltham Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1989), 45-46.

⁷ Date as judged from its position in the institution roll. *Rot. Hug.* I, 101.

⁸ *Rot. Hug.* I, 22-24, 49-50, 80-81; II, 12, 34, 119, 151, 314; III, 188, 191.

instituted on the condition ‘that he should study in the schools continually, until he knows how to govern a parish’.¹ Frequently, Hugh ordered presentees in minor orders to study before he would ordain them subdeacons.² Either he or the relevant archdeacon would examine clergy, both at ordinations and at other times, giving force to threats of deprivation.³ Some clergy were ordered to provide their parishes with suitable chaplains while they were away at the schools, or until they were qualified for pastoral office.⁴ Simon de Koleby, presented to the vicarage of Nocton (archdeaconry of Lincoln), was already a master, but he was to be given leave to absent himself for study whenever he wanted, so long as he provided a suitable priest in the meantime: Hugh presumably expected him to come and go, applying his learning to his cure when present.⁵ He also ordered six presentees to provide suitable priests who could hear confessions and preach in English, which the presentees presumably could not.⁶

Scores of other presentees were simply ordered to reside and serve personally. Personal service of a church as vicar or rector could only be done in full by a priest, which most presentees were not, wherefore many were also commanded to present themselves for ordination at the first opportunity. Master Osbert of Wycombe, presented to the vicarage of South Stoke (archdeaconry of Oxford), was instituted

with the obligation that he shall come to the next ordination, to be promoted to the order of subdeacon, and thus successively order by order, until he is ordained priest, so that from that time he may serve the church personally in the priestly office, according to the bishop’s command.⁷

¹ ‘... quod addiscat in scholis continue, usque parrochiam sciat regere.’ *Rot. Hug.* III, 114.

² See e.g. *Rot. Hug.* II, 12, 13, 14; III, 32, 34.

³ See e.g. *Rot. Hug.* I, 161, 216, 217; II, 29 (*bis*); 142, 157, 170-71, 282-83, 286; etc.

⁴ See e.g. *Rot. Hug.* I, 49-50, 161.

⁵ *Rot. Hug.* III, 170.

⁶ *Rot. Hug.* I, 33, 48, 108; II, 18; III, 192.

⁷ ‘...admissus est et in ea vicarius perpetuus institutus, cum onere ad proximos ordines veniendi, in ordinem subdiaconi promovendus, et sic de ordine in ordinem successive, donec in presbiterum ordinetur, et extunc dicte ecclesie in propria persona ad mandatum domini Episcopi deserviat in officio sacerdotali.’ *Rot. Hug.* II, 1. For a similar example, see *ibid.* I, 156.

Such a large diocese must have required frequent ordinations, perhaps at all four canonically-sanctioned seasons in a normal year: this is suggested by Hugh's injunction that if Rochester Cathedral priory should present clerks to the vicarage of Haddenham and its dependent chapels, they must be ordained to the priesthood within a year.¹ In the earlier records, Hugh's registrar used *clericus* to designate minor orders through subdeacon and possibly deacon: almost all institutions recorded before 1220 describe the presentee as either *clericus* or *cappellanus* (*presbiter* and *sacerdos* are almost never used).² Later institutions in the rolls distinguish subdeacons and deacons from *clerici*. As this document is from September 1231, *clericus* here indicates that one in the order of acolyte or below could still become priest within a year, suggesting that three or four ordinations in a year was considered the normal frequency at this time. If Hugh held ordinations with this frequency, a parish could spend the minimum amount of time canonically possible without a priest. Hugh's injunctions were not empty words: on at least two occasions he deprived men for failing to receive orders, reside and obtain sufficient education.³

Though diocesan records do not mention it, the friars arrived and spread in the diocese under Hugh. By 1230, the Franciscans had settled at Oxford, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton and Stamford, while the Dominicans had only the Oxford house until they settled at Northampton in 1231 x 1233.⁴ No further houses are known to have been founded during this episcopate.

While Hugh issued no diocesan statutes and produced no *pastoralia*, his episcopate was marked by a diligence and dedication to his office, combined with careful consideration of the necessity of providing qualified and dutiful clergy to the parishes of his diocese. His administration may be likened to that of Bishop Herbert Poore in

¹ *Acta of Hugh*, 346.

² *Rot. Hug.* I, 1-176.

³ *Rot. Hug.* II, 270-71; *Acta of Hugh*, 286, 437.

⁴ *MRH*, 222-23, 213-14.

Salisbury, but the extant Salisbury records, far fewer as they are, do not allow us to see Herbert as comparable to Hugh in close attention to the qualifications of parish clergy.¹ Richard Poore was more of a kindred spirit in this respect, and in promulgating his pastoral statutes he went a step beyond Hugh of Wells. Comparing these two dioceses, Lincoln diocese, so far as limited records can tell, was ahead of Salisbury in attention to clerical quality and in ensuring that clergy were literate, resident, sufficiently ordained and supported by perpetual vicarages, while Salisbury (along with Canterbury and Durham) was ahead in providing comprehensive documentary pastoral instruction which, despite Richard Poore's simple Latin and exemplary pedagogy, may still have been beyond the abilities of some parish clergy.

Hugh of Wells was succeeded within a few months of his death in 1235 by Robert Grosseteste,² who had been not only lector to the Oxford Franciscans but also part of the diocesan administration as archdeacon of Leicester from 1229 to 1232.³ Although the roll of presentations to Leicester benefices during his archidiaconate has no distinguishing features,⁴ his episcopate would be marked by an uncompromising insistence on the primacy of the care of souls over all other considerations. As Grosseteste's approach to pastoral care has been studied elsewhere,⁵ here we must select a few key emphases.

Upon his consecration, despite already being in his mid-sixties, Grosseteste embarked upon a process of visiting his entire diocese, deanery by deanery, to preach to the clergy, confirm children, and

¹ On Herbert Poore, see *EEA* 18.

² The bibliography on Grosseteste's life and thought, including editions of his extensive works, is large and growing rapidly. The Electronic Grosseteste Project maintains an up-to-date bibliography on its website at www.grosseteste.com/biblio-search.htm.

³ *Fasti* Lincoln, 34. He had retained his prebend of St. Margaret's church, Leicester, as the stalls of archdeacons were not affixed to particular prebendal churches at this time: *Fasti* Lincoln, 77.

⁴ *Rot. Hug.* II, 308-20.

⁵ Including J.H. Srawley, 'Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln', in D.A. Callus, ed., *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop* (Oxford, 1955), 146-77; L. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law* (London, 1981), article I; Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 235-91.

correct abuses.¹ He seems to have covered much of the diocese within the first few years of his episcopate, but he did not stop there: Matthew Paris, for instance, records further visitations under the years 1246 and 1251,² and there is no reason to doubt that other regular visitations took place. Grosseteste, like most medieval bishops, moved around his diocese frequently, giving ample opportunity for visitation.³ Deaneries near his episcopal manors would have been the easiest to inspect regularly. In this process, which he acknowledged was unprecedented, he discovered several problems that his predecessors had not eradicated: games took place in cemeteries; in some parishes, it was customary for the laity to withhold oblations at Easter unless the Eucharist was given to them; merchants had set themselves up in the church of All Saints, Northampton, and its graveyard; clandestine marriages were occurring. He directed his archdeacons to deal with these abuses.⁴

If those committing such abuses hoped for a mild old man in their new bishop, they were soon undeceived. As Southern noted, Grosseteste believed that there was precisely one right way to do everything; that almost any argument should be backed up by citing the Bible with overwhelming force; and that successful reform could be expected urgently. Moreover, Grosseteste held that the salvation of souls was at stake and that, at the last judgement, he would be called to account for any single soul in his diocese that was lost, so he (and his diocesan administrators) could never rest content.⁵ Uncompromising activist reform of clerical and lay behaviour was the hallmark of his eighteen years as bishop.

Grosseteste issued, probably in 1239, the only known statutes for Lincoln diocese in the thirteenth century.⁶ Most of the general abuses mentioned in his mandates to his archdeacons are rehearsed

¹ Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 257-60; *C&S* II, 261-65.

² *Chron. Maj.* IV, 579-80; V, 256-57.

³ *Rot. Grosseteste*, x-xii.

⁴ *C&S* II, 201-5.

⁵ Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 243-57.

⁶ *C&S* II, 265-78, cited below as 'Lincoln' with chapter number; see also *Eng. Synodalia*, 110-41.

here, along with others that he had presumably discovered in the meantime through his diocesan officials and his visitations. Grosseteste's statutes, which show no dependence on Poore's, thus offer some indications of problems his predecessors had not solved. We have heard, the bishop wrote, that some priests cause their deacons to hear confessions: this must cease.¹ He had heard that some priests extort money from the laity for sacraments, including confession, or impose fines as penances: this also must cease.² Several vicarages ordained by Hugh of Wells included 'oblations' at confession as part of the vicar's support; at St. John the Baptist, Peterborough, 'confession-pennies' were reckoned to add up to twenty-two shillings annually, suggesting 264 paid-up penitents.³ While these were supposed to be free offerings, avaricious clergy could, and sometimes did, demand such payments as theirs by right and refuse services otherwise, as was the case with Easter oblations mentioned by Grosseteste.⁴

Surprisingly little attention is given in the statutes to confession, a major concern of Grosseteste's: he wrote three works on the subject before he became bishop and three more during his episcopate.⁵ Grosseteste's statutes, considered as a prescriptive and proscriptive document on pastoral care and church life, show a programme different from that of Richard Poore's statutes and their derivatives, or for that matter Pecham's later provincial statutes. The Lincoln statutes include proscriptions of clerical drunkenness and incontinence, like most other sets of statutes, and some instructions for pastoral care and clerical knowledge; but this shorter document is not conceived as a *pastoralium* in its own right. While Poore's statutes include a general exposition of the seven sacraments and further

¹ Lincoln, 29.

² Lincoln, 27.

³ *Rot. Hug.* II, 127; see also I, 185; III, 40-41, 56, 84-86, 194.

⁴ *C&S* II, 205; Lincoln, 22.

⁵ Goering, 'When and where', 29. To this list I add *Quoniam cogitatio* as the third probably (but not certainly) dating to his episcopate.

homiletic material on several of them individually,¹ Grosseteste merely told priests that they should know about them (especially confession) and teach the laity about them (especially the form of baptism for emergencies): he provided no exposition, nor even a list.² He opened his first statute by commending the Decalogue as necessary for the health of souls, yet did not list or expound the Commandments as Pecham would in his provincial statutes.³

Grosseteste expected priests to have other *pastoralia* in the parish book-chest: in *Templum Dei*, he considered ‘a book of penitential canons’ to be essential reading to the parish priest, along with ‘the book of the homilies of Gregory or another saint, so that he may know how to expound the Gospel to the people.’⁴ A very few parish churches owned such books.⁵ However, many of the thirteenth-century manuscripts of his statutes do now include other *pastoralia*.⁶ Grosseteste’s confessor’s manual *Quoniam cogitatio* appears with the statutes in some early manuscripts as well.⁷ *Quoniam cogitatio* may have been designed to accompany the Lincoln statutes, just as Alexander Stavensby appended two tracts to his Lichfield statutes around this time.⁸

¹ See III.2 above.

² Lincoln, 1.

³ C&S II, 902-03.

⁴ ‘Liber canonum penitencialis ... Liber omelarium Gregorii uel alterius sancti, ut sciat exponere Euangelium populo.’ *Templum*, 50.

⁵ In the book-lists in the visitation records of appropriated churches of St. Paul’s and Salisbury cathedrals from the thirteenth century, only one ‘dictionary of penance’ and four homilies were found in forty-seven visitations: Simpson, *1297 Visitations*, 18, 25; Simpson, ‘1249 Visitations’, 31; *Reg. St. Osmund* I, 294; none listed in *Sarum Charters* 369-70.

⁶ These include Richard of Wetheringsett’s *Qui bene presunt* and works of William de Montibus, discussed below in the second section of this chapter. *Eng. Synodalia* 111-16. It is not clear from Cheney’s list whether these appear to have accompanied the statutes from an early date or were merely bound with them later; examination of bindings and hands would provide useful information in this regard. Moreover, we must not take from these extant manuscripts the lesson that the parishes of Lincoln diocese typically had the statutes bound with other pastoral material: it is far more likely that these copies of the statutes have survived because they were bound with other material considered worth saving.

⁷ *Eng. Synodalia*, 111-16.

⁸ C&S II, 207-26. Leonard Boyle suggested that *Templum Dei* had been so appended, but Joe Goering suggests the *Quoniam cogitatio*, which the manuscript evidence supports more strongly (personal communication with the latter, August 2004). Moreover, *Quoniam cogitatio* is based around the Decalogue and seven sins, which Grosseteste in his statutes ordered priests to know: C&S II, 268.

Curiously, *Templum Dei* did not travel with the statutes: it occurs with a fragmentary copy of the statutes in one manuscript only, and even here *Quoniam cogitatio* comes between them.¹ This is important in the dissemination of pastoral theology. In *Templum* he considered it necessary for priests to have and know ‘a book of canonical penances, so that he may know how to discern between one disease and another, that is between sins, and enjoin penances.’² As *Templum* draws heavily on Robert of Flamborough’s conservative *Liber Poenitentialis*, this is no surprise.³ However, there is no mention of canonical penances, or books carrying them, in either *Quoniam* or the statutes.⁴ If parish clergy were not likely to have penitentials before, the statutes and *Quoniam* would not encourage this to change.

Grossteste’s statutes and *Quoniam cogitatio*, while not as abstruse as his academic writings, lack the simple genius of Richard Poore’s language. Due to previous bishops’ emphases on education and the proliferation of schools, the parish clergy of Lincoln diocese in 1239 might have been somewhat more literate than those of Salisbury in 1219, but one cannot escape the sense that Grosseteste aimed too high, leaving those laity in parishes with only moderately literate priests largely untouched by his textual endeavours.

Liturgical books, however, would certainly be at the disposal of parish priests, and Grosseteste hoped for Lincoln diocese’s clergy to learn theology from them. In addition to enjoining devotion in liturgical prayer, the bishop encouraged clergy to attend to the prayers and lessons so as to be able to teach others (i.e. the laity) what they had learned.⁵ He gave similar advice in a sermon to parish clergy: those who know not how to preach are not thereby excused; they

¹ British Library Ms. Royal 7.A.ix, as described in *Eng. Synodalia*, 113-14 and Thomson, *Writings*, 139. It may be that many manuscripts bearing both the Lincoln statutes and *Templum Dei* once existed but by chance none survives.

² ‘Liber canonum penitencialis, ut sciat discernere inter lepram et lepram, siue inter peccata, et iniungere penitencias.’ *Templum*, 50.

³ *Templum*, 4.

⁴ I have used Cambridge Peterhouse Ms. 255 part iii fols. 23r-30r for *Quoniam cogitatio*, where it is immediately followed by the statutes in the same thirteenth-century hand.

⁵ Lincoln, 6, 7.

should spend each week working through the Gospel text for the next Sunday so that they could at least explain its general meaning to their parishioners. Those who do not know Latin should seek the help of a neighbouring priest.¹

Bishop Grosseteste continued Hugh of Wells' programme of examining clerical education, with more regular threats of deprivation. As can also be seen in Hugh's institution rolls, presentees closely related to the patron presenting them were disproportionately likely to have such strictures laid upon them: for instance, Thomas of Mablethorpe, presented by his father Haco of Mablethorpe to the rectory of Mablethorpe St. Peter (archdeaconry of Lincoln), was obliged 'to be examined each year, and unless he makes impressive progress, he is to be entirely deprived of the foresaid church.'² The presentee of two portions of Sproxton (archdeaconry of Lincoln), who was apparently expected to serve personally, was ordered 'to come at the feast of Saint Michael, to be fully examined regarding the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments, and the seven sins with circumstances.'³ This corresponds to the first three items in Grosseteste's statute listing what parish priests should know.⁴

On his visitations of his diocese, Grosseteste brought the four friars he kept in his household, two Franciscans and two Dominicans, to preach to the people and hear their confessions: by this means he showed to the people his coequal respect for these orders, and showed to the parish clergy that the friars had his sanction, lest any try to prevent their preaching in the future.⁵ In addition, this levelled the terrain somewhat in the geography of pastoral care, for not a corner of his diocese would go untouched by the friars during these

¹ S. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching', *Collectanea Franciscana* 37 (1967), 101-41, at 112.

² 'Debet singulis annus examinari, et nisi laudabiliter prefecerit ecclesia predicta penitus privari.' *Rot. Grosseteste*, 60. For an example from Hugh of Wells, see *Rot. Hug.* I, 19-20.

³ 'Veniet ad festum Sancti Michaelis, plenius examinandus super x prec', vii sacramentis, vii cri' cum circumstanciis.' *Rot. Grosseteste*, 416-17.

⁴ *C&S* II, 268.

⁵ He also directed his archdeacons, at a date unknown, to act against rectors and vicars who impeded the friars of both orders from preaching to their parishioners and hearing their confessions: *C&S* II, 480. In the same mandate, he ordered his archdeacons to induce the laity to attend the sermons of either order of friars and to confess to them.

perambulations. It appears that the friars had already reached a temporary ceiling under Hugh of Wells, at least as measured by foundations. The Franciscans, already spread throughout the diocese in their six convents, settled at Bedford by 1238 and Grimsby by about 1240, but these dates are merely first mentions and one or both houses could have been founded earlier.¹

Grosseteste died in October 1253 and was succeeded by the end of the year by Henry of Lexinton, dean of the cathedral since 1246.² Henry died in August 1258; this is all that John de Schalby recorded of him.³ His institution roll from the archdeaconry of Huntingdon has survived, but it communicates nothing of interest for our purposes.⁴ Henry's episcopate saw the entry to the diocese of the Carmelites, who settled at Oxford in 1256,⁵ and the Austin Friars, who were at Huntingdon by 1258.⁶

Master Richard Gravesend, like his predecessor dean of the cathedral, was elected bishop of Lincoln in September 1258 and consecrated in November.⁷ Almost immediately, he was sent abroad on royal business for over a year, having designated Robert Marsh as his vicegerent.⁸

Bishop Gravesend spent several other periods abroad in the 1260s on various business, but when in England he seems to have stayed in his diocese most of the time.⁹ His register also clearly shows a vicegerent appointed for each major absence carrying on business as usual, at least as regards institutions. Although his ordination lists are lost, the editors of his rolls reconstructed his ordination dates, often showing four or even five ordinations in a year at rotating

¹ *MRH*, 222.

² *Fasti Lincoln*, 4, 10.

³ John de Schalby, 'Bishops of Lincoln', 206-07.

⁴ Printed in *Rot. Grosseteste*, 509-18.

⁵ *MCHW*, 79.

⁶ *MRH*, 240.

⁷ *Fasti Lincoln*, 4.

⁸ *Rot. Gravesend*, vii.

⁹ *Rot. Gravesend*, ix-xv.

locations around the diocese.¹ This would ensure a minimal time without a sacerdotal presence in parishes presented with clerks. Based on Gravesend's itinerary, his register's editors also suggested that he attempted to visit his diocese on a triennial basis, but of inquiry along Grossetestian lines there is no trace.² He did improve pastoral provision in some large rural parishes by establishing chapels-of-ease in outlying settlements.³

Yet another mendicant order, the Friars of the Sack, entered Lincoln diocese during Gravesend's episcopate. They settled at Oxford in 1261-62, Lincoln by 1266, Northampton by 1271, and Leicester and Stamford by 1274, giving the diocese five of England's sixteen convents.⁴ What they added to pastoral care before their suppression in 1274 cannot now be ascertained, but as their numbers were never great and they settled in sizeable towns already occupied by other orders, their pastoral influence must have been a minor local uniqueness confined to the urban environment. Only the Leicester house closed before 1300, indicating strong continuing support from the laity.

In 1280, Oliver Sutton, an Oxford theologian and canonist, became the third successive dean of Lincoln Cathedral to ascend its episcopal throne. Historians have been impressed by his care for his diocese. Hill, who edited his register, judged that 'Sutton was not a saint, and as a scholar he was competent rather than distinguished. He was, however, a thoroughly good man, a trained canonist who was determined to uphold the law, and an administrator at once efficient and humane.'⁵ Elsewhere she described him as 'an excellent bishop – just, conscientious, and deeply devoted to his diocese, which he hardly ever left'.⁶ His registrar John de Schalby was similarly

¹ *Rot. Gravesend*, xv-xvi.

² *Rot. Gravesend*, xvi-xvii.

³ R.M. Haines, 'Gravesend, Richard of', *ODNB*.

⁴ *MRH*, 274.

⁵ *Reg. Sutton* I, v.

⁶ R. Hill, 'Sutton [Lexinton], Oliver', *ODNB*.

complimentary.¹ As a result of Sutton's efforts, building upon those of his predecessors, Hill judged that 'the standard of diocesan discipline [among parish clergy] was high.'²

The records of Sutton's episcopate show a bishop cut from the same cloth as Hugh of Wells and Richard Gravesend, faithfully and efficiently administering the diocese, improving the quality of pastoral care by obliging parish clergy to be resident,³ sufficiently ordained⁴ and literate,⁵ and well-behaved. He made extensive use of the officers of diocesan government, such as his archdeacons,⁶ and commissioned qualified clergy *ad hoc* for administrative tasks.⁷ His ordination lists for the 1290s, the earliest to survive for the diocese, show an average of four ordinations per year.⁸ The lists also record which diocesan officials examined the candidates. Of some interest are the ordinations of friars, which show that Sutton conferred orders on Franciscans 201 times, Dominicans 121 times, Carmelites 114 times and Austins 88 times during this decade, offering a rough comparison of the numbers of potentially pastorally active friars in the diocese.⁹ The proximity of the Dominicans to the Carmelites rather than to the Franciscans is striking.

Sutton supported the Dominicans, defending their right to hear the confessions of the laity in opposition to the claims of the canons of Dunstable, with whom they had had a strong local rivalry for forty years.¹⁰ However, Franciscans appear more often in his register.¹¹ Four times in the 1290s he appointed Franciscans as penitentiaries.¹² Although thirteenth-century English Dominicans have left behind

¹ John de Schalby, 'Bishops of Lincoln', 208, 212.

² R. Hill, *Oliver Sutton, Dean of Lincoln, later Bishop of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1982), 12.

³ E.g., *Reg. Sutton* III, 10, 82; IV 49-50.

⁴ E.g., *Reg. Sutton* IV, 80.

⁵ E.g., *Reg. Sutton* III, liii, lxxvii, 43, 48, 66-67, 104, 184; IV, 73-74.

⁶ *Reg. Sutton* III, xxx.

⁷ *Reg. Sutton* III-VI, *passim*.

⁸ *Reg. Sutton* VII consists entirely of these ordination lists.

⁹ *Reg. Sutton* VII, 124-25. To reach these totals, Hill counted total ordinations, not total individuals: a single friar ordained to successive orders would thus be counted several times.

¹⁰ *Reg. Sutton* VI, 162. This intervention took place in 1299. For the rivalry see *EEFP*, 79-81; *Chron. Maj.* V, 742.

¹¹ E.g. *Reg. Sutton* III, 22, 195.

¹² *Reg. Sutton* III, 13, 39-40, 86, 90, 100; V, 210; VI 3.

more compelling sources suggesting knowledge of canon law on penance, these appointments by such a careful canonist as Sutton clearly indicate that the Franciscans were not second-class in this respect. The fact that the Franciscan scholar Adam Marsh had been one of Sutton's teachers and remained his friend may have led to a special affection for the order.¹

Sutton's successor John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln from 1300 to 1320,² is beyond the scope of this study, but documents from the first year of his episcopate shed unique light on the vexed question of how many friars were pastorally active. In 1300, Boniface VIII's bull *Super cathedram* required friars to be licensed by bishops to hear confessions in their dioceses,³ and Dalderby's register includes not only the names of those so licensed but also the full number of friars put forward on these occasions, only about one-third of whom were licensed.⁴ The number proposed is in some respects more important for our purposes, as it gives a rough figure of the number of friars whom their orders considered capable of such a task in the late thirteenth century. The records for 1 July – 12 October 1300 show that 73 Franciscans and 88 Dominicans were proposed; but these account for only four of the nine Franciscan friaries and four of the six Dominican friaries, so the number of active confessors in Lincoln diocese on the eve of *Super cathedram* may have been higher by a half or more. As confession was a more complex and regulated task than preaching, which was not restricted under *Super cathedram*, the number of potentially active preaching friars from these two orders can be set higher still, and even this takes no account of the Carmelites and Austins, which the figures from Sutton's ordinations suggest were not far behind the Dominicans in the diocese. As an educated conjecture, one might suggest one hundred ninety friars in

¹ *Reg. Sutton* III, xiv; *Monumenta Franciscana*, 97.

² N. Bennett, 'Dalderby, John', *ODNB*. His register is extant but has not yet been edited: Smith, *Guide*, 109-10.

³ *Bull. Fr.* IV, 498-500.

⁴ The texts are edited in Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 230-43.

the diocese qualified to preach to the laity, which would give one friar to every ten parishes. Coverage of the countryside would be intermittent with the preaching seasons, the necessity of traveling in pairs could reduce the dispersal of preachers, and only careful co-ordination of itineraries among the four orders could have reduced overlapping; but sending out such a number of preachers and the smaller but still substantial number of confessors could have had quite a considerable effect on the pastoral care of the laity in the diocese of Lincoln.

B. The Archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow

The northernmost part of the diocese, the county of Lincolnshire, comprised the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow (see maps A-C).

One of the men Hugh of Avalon installed in the cathedral was the Lincoln native and Paris scholar and master William de Montibus, whom he made chancellor in 1194.¹ Like his former Paris colleague Peter the Chanter, William gave high priority to matters of pastoral care, and as he taught diocesan clergy in the cathedral school at Lincoln he put this programme into action.² Several works of his are on the sacrament of penance, such as the versified *Peniteas cito peccator*, indicating that he expected the hearing of confessions to be an important part of pastoral care in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and gave parish clergy instruction accordingly.³ He had also accepted and written on the still-young concept of the seven sacraments before returning to Lincoln and presumably taught it there.⁴ Many of his writings use mnemonic devices such as verse, numbering and alphabetisation, suggesting a thoughtful and effective pedagogy. In addition to William's personal influence, the cathedral

¹ For William's life and a full edition of his works, see J. Goering, *William de Montibus* (Toronto, 1992).

² On William's teaching, see Goering, *William de Montibus*, 42-57.

³ *Peniteas cito peccator*: Goering, *William de Montibus*, 107-38.

⁴ Goering, *William de Montibus*, 472-96; ODCC, 'Lombard, Peter'.

library held Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, among many other texts ranging from patristic to contemporary.¹

Several of William's students can be identified: the best-known are Richard of Wetheringsett and Gerald of Wales.² Gerald, archdeacon of Brecon, was prevented by war from studying at Paris in 1196-99, and considered Lincoln the best alternative for the study of theology in England and Wales, thanks to William's presence.³ It was presumably William's influence that inspired Gerald to write his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, a *pastoralium* that was aimed at equipping parish clergy, though it was so cumbersome that few could have found it useful.⁴ Richard is an enigmatic figure, but he wrote a very popular *pastoralium* known by its *incipit*, 'Qui bene presunt', which often quoted William's works and mimicked his techniques (such as numbering and versification):⁵ so heavy was the debt that several manuscripts ascribe authorship to William.⁶ Richard and Gerald were exceptional men, but some of his writings were aimed at elementary applied theology students whom he presumably taught in greater numbers.⁷ While his teaching would have been *gratis*, no provision is known to have been made to support poor scholars as at the college of

¹ The library catalogue is printed in Gerald, *Opera* VII, 165-71. The *Sentences* (p. 169) were bequeathed by Bishop Robert de Chesney, who died in 1166 (*Fasti* Lincoln, 2), less than a decade after the work was finished (*ODCC*, 'Peter Lombard'); the *Historia* (p. 168) was given by a canon named Sampson, who died around 1190 (*Fasti* Lincoln, 144).

² On other students, see Goering, *William de Montibus*, 44-47.

³ Gerald, *Opera* I, 93.

⁴ Dating is difficult, but it postdates the beginning of Gerald's study in Lincoln: R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* (Oxford, 1982), 146-47, 218. Gerald quotes William's *Versarius* (Goering, *William de Montibus*, 393). Gerald gave a copy to the cathedral library (Gerald, *Opera* VII, 168); presumably this was the copy read by William himself (Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 146-47). The *Gemma* exists in only one manuscript, written in the thirteenth century (Sharpe, *Handlist*).

⁵ J. Goering, 'The Summa "Qui bene presunt" and its Author', in R. Newhauser and J. Alford, ed., *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages* (Binghamton, New York, 1995), 143-59.

⁶ I am grateful to Professor Goering for sharing with me his working catalogue of approximately 65 manuscript copies of *Qui bene presunt*, from which this information comes. He is currently preparing an edition, which will show more precisely Richard's indebtedness to William.

⁷ On William's developments in practical pedagogy for pastoral goals, see Goering, *William de Montibus*, 58-83, 98-99, and H. MacKinnon, 'William de Montibus, a Medieval Teacher', in T. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke, ed., *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), 32-45.

Valle Scholarum in Salisbury later in the thirteenth century.¹ Clergy who already lived in the northern end of the diocese, approximately the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow, could resort much more readily to the cathedral school, while those at distance might find it easier and cheaper to study at schools closer to home: William's cunningly communicated, up-to-date pastoral theology would therefore be felt by the laity mostly within this catchment area.² As chancellor, he was also apparently responsible for preaching to the laity on set occasions, and some of his extant sermons explicitly address lay audiences.³ He continued to teach at Lincoln until around 1212, when he went for reasons unknown to Scotland, where he died in 1213.⁴

Hugh of Avalon was canonised in 1220, giving Lincoln Cathedral a significant saint's cult and primary relics, which it had hitherto lacked. Canonisation required the working of posthumous miracles, and indeed a knight had come to touch St. Hugh's body even before it was buried, seeking and receiving healing from a cancer in his arm.⁵ Hugh II arranged the financial support of the wardens of the altar of St. Hugh, though the exact relation of altar to shrine and the role of the custodians are now unclear.⁶

News of miracles and canonisation made the cathedral a site of pilgrimage, the translation of the late bishop's relics providing both a focus for devotion and an event for publicity. The swelling crowds seem to have necessitated, and financed, the eastward extension of the cathedral in the 'angel choir', in which a new shrine was erected in

¹ *Fasti* Salisbury, xxxvii.

² To this we may add MacKinnon's observation ('William de Montibus', 35n) that 'The provenance of the mss. [of William's works], where known, suggests that his influence was largely in the eastern part of England.'

³ Goering, *William de Montibus*, 19-20, 527-566. The statute explicitly requiring popular preaching can only be traced to 1236 (*ibid.* 19-20), but some of the sermons were clearly suitable for the same occasions mentioned in the statute.

⁴ *Fasti* Lincoln, 16-17; Goering, *William de Montibus*, 25-26, suggests that 'Perhaps he had traveled to Scotland to celebrate the Easter holy days free from the restraints imposed by the interdict on England.' He died shortly after Easter.

⁵ D.H. Farmer, 'The Canonization of St. Hugh of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Reports and Papers* vol. 6 part 2 (1956), 86-117, at 99.

⁶ *Reg. Ant.* III, 830; no year given, but it must be 1220 x 1235.

1280.¹ While the numbers and origins of those who visited the shrine cannot be known, the canonization records inform us about those who were healed at the shrine between 1200 and 1219.² Of the thirty people whose cures were recorded, nineteen were women, of whom six were restored to their right minds. Unfortunately, women were less likely to have toponyms recorded, so we can trace the origins of petitioners only in a handful of the total cases. Several were of local origin, including a matron of Lincoln; a boy and a man from the Lincoln suburb of Wigford; and a man from Ancaster, Lincolnshire, eighteen miles south of the cathedral city.³

Lincoln was only a few miles from York diocese, so pilgrims could easily have come not only from another diocese but from another province. Matilda of Beverley, who was cured of severely swollen limbs, presumably came from her namesake town, forty-four miles to the north and in the diocese of York.⁴ Two important Roman roads, Fosse Way and Ermine Street,⁵ intersected just west of the cathedral, and travel would thus have been greatly facilitated for pilgrims from the north, south and southwest.

Also at Lincoln, the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene from the second quarter of the century worshipped at an altar of that dedication in the cathedral nave until a church was built for them within the cathedral precinct in the 1290s.⁶ John de Schalby, who had witnessed the change from a canon's perspective, considered the presence of parishioners a disruption.⁷

A successor of William de Montibus at Lincoln was Master Richard Weathershed, who was chancellor from 1220 until he was

¹ D.H. Farmer, 'The Cult and Canonization of St. Hugh', in H. Mayr-Harting, ed., *St. Hugh of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987), 75-87, at 83; D. Stocker, 'The Mystery of the Shrines of St. Hugh', in *ibid.*, 89-124; P. Kidston, 'Architectural History', in D. Owen, ed., *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), 14-46, at 39-42.

² Farmer, 'Canonization'.

³ Farmer, 'Canonization', nos. viii, xxii, xxiii, and xviii, respectively.

⁴ Farmer, 'Canonization', no. xi and pp. 110-11.

⁵ Ermine Street south of the cathedral is the street now known as Steep Hill.

⁶ *Reg. Ant.* III, 1099.

⁷ J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965), 375-76; *Reg. Sutton* IV, 174-76.

elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1229.¹ Goering tentatively identifies this Richard with the Richard of Wetheringsett who had been William's student and had popularised some of his ideas in the *Qui bene presunt*.² If this association is correct, Lincoln once again had a chancellor of strong pastoral commitment to preach to the people and teach the clergy. As Goering dates the *Qui bene presunt* to 1215 x 1220, its content probably reflects Richard's subsequent teaching at Lincoln, where he may also have made this work available to local clergy and presumably preached to the laity. Schools at Lincoln carried on under Grosseteste, to whom Adam Marsh commended the Oxford scholar Master William of Grimele for the mastership of the schools there.³ Other pastoral scholarship was taking place at the Lincoln convents of the Franciscans and Dominicans, who had arrived *circa* 1230 and 1237 respectively.⁴ While secular scholars could have attended their lectures, the presence of the cathedral school better directed to their needs probably precluded such commixture. The situation of Lincoln on the Roman roads would have made for easy travel into the countryside, especially to those parishes near the roads. This would have made for a region of mendicant rural influence running from north to south along the western side of Lincolnshire.

Work commenced on the 'Angel Choir' of the cathedral in 1255, intended to provide a magnificent home for the shrine of St. Hugh.⁵ Two years later, Bishop Henry issued an indulgence of twenty days' enjoined penance to encourage people to come to the cathedral, hear the sermons of its canons and pray the *Paternoster* and *Ave* thrice each.⁶ Thereby he established yet another source for preaching to clergy and laity alike, complementing the offerings of the friars and supplementing the homilies of the parish clergy. The indulgences also

¹ *Fasti* Lincoln, 17.

² Goering, 'The Summa "Qui bene presunt"'.
³ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 174-75.

⁴ *MRH*, 222, 214.

⁵ Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 112.

⁶ *Reg. Ant.* II, 406.

encouraged pilgrimage at a time when a major building project was just beginning and additional donations were needed. Moreover, apparently beginning quite soon after Grosseteste's death, miracles were witnessed at his grave in the southeast transept of the cathedral, encouraging the dean and chapter and the bishop – probably Henry – to promote his cult and seek papal canonisation.¹ The tomb erected over his remains in the few years after his death would have been suitable for a saint's shrine, and resembles others of the time, suggesting a sculptural encouragement for the cult.² Canonisation required miracles; miracles, for the most part, required supplicants. The more pilgrims who came through the great west doors, the more likely the canonisation would become; and while the canonisation attempts eventually failed, supplicants who had not met with success at Hugh's shrine might have turned to his successor's nonetheless. Matthew Paris reported that miracles were being wrought at the tombs of 'St.' Remigius, St. Hugh and 'St.' Robert Grosseteste in 1253 and 1255; in the latter year he wrote mostly about Grosseteste, noting that twenty miracles had occurred at his tomb and that they had been diligently examined by the chapter.³ While we know nothing of the content of the sermons preached in the cathedral by members of the chapter, some of them likely dealt with the purported saints whose shrines lay in the cathedral, especially around their feast days. Since the indulgences for hearing the sermons were (like all indulgences) only valid for those who were contrite and confessed, some of the preaching may have been penitential and opportunities for confession could have been provided. If the canons did not offer public masses, visitors could attend mass at the parish altar of St. Mary Magdalene in the cathedral; parishioners there were likely accustomed to strangers in their midst.

¹ E.W. Kemp, 'The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste', in Callus, *Robert Grosseteste*, 241-46; *Reg. Ant.* I, 280d; *ibid.* II, 607.

² D.A. Stocker, 'The Tomb and Shrine of Robert Grosseteste in Lincoln Cathedral', in W.M. Ormrod, ed., *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Grantham, Lincolnshire, 1985), 143-48.

³ *Chron. Maj.* V, 419, 490-91.

As with other religious provisions made at the cathedral, it is likely that parishioners in the city and outlying areas would come to these sermons most readily: the approach to the cathedral is up a long and steep hill, but sparing an hour or two and some perspiration to have twenty days' enjoined penance remitted would be a very attractive proposition, perhaps to the chagrin of local parish priests or friars who found such an easy remission too light. In coming years, however, reissues of this indulgence appear to have made Lincoln an attractive pilgrimage destination from much further afield. A bishop only had the authority to issue an indulgence for the parishioners of his own diocese, but other bishops could declare that it applied to their parishioners as well. It is not surprising that Archbishop Godfrey Ludham of York was apparently the first to do so (1264), for the southern part of his diocese lay very close to Lincoln itself.¹ He thoughtfully added that the auditors of these sermons were expected to strive to follow what they heard. In 1266 the bishops of Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Norwich, Coventry and Lichfield, and Durham also extended the indulgence to their dioceses, as did the bishop of Llandaff in 1267.² In the 1270s three Scottish bishops extended the indulgence.³

The archdeaconry of Stow, consisting of the northwest quarter of Lincolnshire (see maps A and B), was the smallest of the eight archdeaconries, with around 100 parishes.⁴ We know that Bishop Sutton had held multiple visitations of the archdeaconry, facilitated by the presence of the favoured episcopal manor of Stow Park, because of a note in his register mentioning the accidental burning of the rolls of his first visitation.⁵ However, a scrap of evidence of visitation by an archdeacon of archdeacon's official has survived, listing the defects of five parish churches and ordering that they be made good by

¹ *Reg. Ant.* II, 407.

² *Reg. Ant.* II, 410, 411, 413, 415, 416, 418, 412.

³ *Reg. Ant.* II, 418-420 (Orkney, Dunkeld and Moray).

⁴ Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* 235.

⁵ *Reg. Sutton* V, 130.

Michaelmas (29 September) 1287.¹ Its contents – the repair of a window, the rebinding or acquisition of books, and the like – are similar to other visitation records, but the form is different. The visitation records of appropriated churches of St. Paul's² and Salisbury³ cathedrals describe defects of property, but with ornaments, vestments and books, they are more concerned with listing what is present than what is lacking. As the cathedral's visitations do not seem to have been frequent, a list of items present would provide a checklist against which to measure losses. The archidiaconal record from Stow, however, lists defects only, suggesting that the visitor traveled with a standard list of liturgically necessary ornaments, making for quicker and more systematic enquiry; the mention of the 'processional cross of Limoges work with painted staff'⁴ at Highbaldstow suggests either a list of ornaments of specific churches or the testimony of witnesses that an item had disappeared. The rough nature of the document, scratched out unevenly on a scrap of parchment, would be appropriate to a draft intended to be copied onto official rolls, perhaps to be checked at an archidiaconal chapter meeting on Michaelmas. The cancellation of several items listed suggests that this was used as a working document; perhaps this recorded defects remedied before the deadline. The overall impression is of systematic and regular visitation in the archdeaconry of Stow.

As the archdeacon's post was apparently vacant around this time, the visitor of these parishes was likely the official designated by Sutton to carry on such business until a permanent replacement was appointed. The name of this official is not recorded. Internal evidence shows that the scribe expected an archdeacon to be in place by Michaelmas 1287, but Greenway indicates that this did not happen, so we cannot be sure whether the corrections were enforced.⁵

¹ Lincolnshire Archive Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments, Ms. Dij/64/2, no. 7; single folio. It is discussed briefly in D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), 35.

² Simpson, '1249 Visitations'; Simpson, *1297 Visitations*.

³ *Reg. St. Osmund* I, 275-314; *Sarum Charters*, 369-70.

⁴ 'Crux processional' de Limon' cum baculo picto' (MS. cit.).

⁵ *Fasti* Lincoln, 47.

However, this is a corrective to the assumption that absent archdeacons leaving officials to do their work meant poor supervision of pastoral care. Bishop Sutton kept Master Jocelin of Kirmington, archdeacon of Stow from 1291 to 1300, at his side while perambulating the diocese, leaving his archidiaconal official, Master Benedict of Ferriby, in charge;¹ and we may assume that the conscientious Sutton considered that supervision of the archdeaconry was still in good hands.

C: The Archdeaconry of Oxford

The archdeaconry of Oxford, coterminous with Oxfordshire, was of an average size for the diocese at around 265 parishes.²

The religious life of the town of Oxford (see map D) had long been dominated by the churches of Oseney and St. Frideswide, originally secular minsters refounded as Augustinian houses in the early twelfth century. Postles has argued that, following their adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine, their role shifted from pastors to urban landlords.³

Around 1190, Hugh of Avalon authorised Oseney to build a chapel at their own expense for the convenience of their household servants, guests, and parishioners staying within the abbey precinct.⁴ It is likely that this was to move such a congregation out of the abbey church. This chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas, was considered a parish church by 1222; the abbot had full jurisdiction over the chaplain, though the archdeacon had normal jurisdiction over the parishioners.⁵ Hugh of Wells felt it necessary to admonish Oseney, in its presentations to benefices, to ‘find a cleric who is suitable and devoted to his duty and the ministry of the church, who shall display

¹ *Fasti* Lincoln, 47; *Reg. Sutton* III, xxvi.

² Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 235.

³ D. Postles, ‘The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350’, *BIHR* 66 (1993), 1-20.

⁴ H.E. Salter, ed., *The Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, vol. III (Oxford, 1931), no. 1040; *EEA* 4, 147.

⁵ *Oseney Cartulary* III, nos. 1041, 1042.

an oath of fidelity and devotion to that chaplain as vicar',¹ and Oliver Sutton mandated the arrangement of perpetual vicarages in two of its appropriated churches in 1296 in terms suggesting that ministry in them had not been satisfactory.² Oseney also held extensive properties in Oxford.³ Thus far Postles' argument seems to hold true. However, some abbots contributed to pastoral care in other ways: in 1235, Abbot John took his abilities, education and spiritual formation to the Franciscan order,⁴ and in 1294 Bishop Sutton commissioned the then-abbot to hear confessions and assign penances to laity in the archdeaconry of Oxford.⁵ While Hugh of Wells and Oliver Sutton had some doubts in their days about the quality of pastoral care in parish churches appropriated to Oseney, Grosseteste, normally an opponent of appropriations, showed trust in the abbey in permitting them to appropriate the parish church of Fulwell in 1238 x 1239.⁶

For St. Frideswide's Priory plenty of information can be adduced to show its involvement in pastoral care in the thirteenth century. Like many religious houses, it held the advowson of numerous parish churches, including seven in or just outside Oxford.⁷ Hugh did not admonish them in the same terms as Oseney, and appears not to have needed to. Of its presentees to him, the high proportion of sixty-nine percent were already priests: whether by accident or design, the priory presented men already experienced in pastoral office, none of whom was found needful of study.⁸ Master Sylvester of Cornwall, presented by the priory to the vicarage of St. Michael at Northgate in Oxford in

¹ 'Canonici vero ei clericum idoneum et ejus obsequio et ecclesie ministerio devotum inveniet, qui juramentum fidelitatis et devotionis ipsi capellano, ut vicario, prestat'. *Rot. Hug.* I, 179-80; cf. vol. II, 18-19.

² *Reg. Sutton* V, 134.

³ *Oseney Cartulary* I-IV *passim*.

⁴ *Ann. Mon.* I, 98; IV, 82-83.

⁵ *Reg. Sutton* IV, 191.

⁶ *Reg. Ant.* III, 940.

⁷ *VCH Oxford* IV, 373.

⁸ *Rot. Hug.* I, 5; II, 10-11, 11, 20, 21, 36, 37 (*bis*), 38, 41, 72, 75, 87. This calculation counts twice Martin of Nutley, priest, presented first to the vicarage and then the rectory of Over Winchendon. Analysis of St. Frideswide's presentations in *Rot. Grosseteste* give a similar result.

1223, was ordered to be priested and to serve personally: very few parishes at this time were served by so well-educated a priest.¹

St. Frideswide's itself served as a parish church from at least the 1220s, when a vicarage was ordained, but this very likely ratified longstanding practice. The secular vicar, who was under diocesan supervision, was supported in part by living with the Augustinian canons.² St. Frideswide's parish was united with the neighbouring parish of St. Edward (also owned by the priory) in 1298, the combined parish worshipping in St. Edward's church. This was done for several reasons, including the poverty of both parishes, but also because in St. Frideswide's church the canons and the vicar had celebrated in such close proximity that their singing clashed.³ The reasons for moving the parish altar to a separate building were probably similar at Oseney, but the canons of St. Frideswide, like the canons of Lincoln Cathedral, bore with this cohabitation for a century more. Perhaps the canons of St. Frideswide were simply accustomed to the bustle of pilgrims and supplicants at the shrine of St. Frideswide herself, which lay to the north of the choir in a chapel that was enlarged at least twice during the thirteenth century.⁴ Mayr-Harting, in an illuminating analysis of the recorded miracles at the shrine in the late twelfth century, has noted that the majority of supplicants whose names can be traced came from within a forty-mile radius:⁵ if providing the locus of a saint's cult is considered as an aspect of liturgical pastoral care, a geographical delineation can here be observed.

¹ *Rot. Hug.* II, 10-11.

² A. Dodd, 'Churches and religious houses in Norman Oxford', in *eadem*, ed., *Oxford before the University* (Oxford, 2003), 56-59, at 57; *Rot. Hug.* I, 182; J. Blair, 'St. Frideswide's Monastery: Problems and Possibilities', in *idem*, ed., *Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford* (Gloucester, 1990), 221-58, at 255-58. Blair suggests that canons discharged parochial functions before the vicarage was ordained (255-56).

³ *Reg. Sutton* VI, 106-07.

⁴ Blair, 'St. Frideswide's Monastery', 246-55. The chapel was open to the choir by an arcade, not closed by a wall, though the stalls would have provided some separation.

⁵ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: The Miracles of St. Frideswide', in Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore, ed., *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis* (London, 1985), 193-206.

Hugh of Wells' institution rolls mention schools at Northampton in 1233¹ and at Lincoln in 1221 and 1222,² as well as Paris,³ while most men were simply directed to 'the schools', some of which would have consisted merely of a grammar master who hung out his shingle in a provincial town.⁴ But the diocese's school *par excellence* during much of Hugh's episcopate and the rest of the century was Oxford.⁵ We cannot know how many years' worth of Oxford education directly benefited Lincoln diocesan parishioners; the sermon of Jordan of Saxony OP in 1229 presumes a large number of rectors and perhaps vicars in the audience, though these could have been from anywhere.⁶

One intuitively expects that preaching and other pastoral care in the general area of Oxford should have benefited from the concentration of learning there, but what were the mechanisms of mediation? One was the friars. Oxford was the first city in the British Isles that could boast houses of both Franciscan and Dominican friars. The systems whereby the Oxford Franciscan convent had two schools – one for friars active in the local pastorate and another for training conventual lectors – had not yet developed in Hugh's day, so the learning and spiritual formation occurring there would have been largely directed at pastoral work in Oxford and its environs. As both orders recruited learned men and put at least some of them to pastoral work, these new pastors had the intellectual resources to digest and apply major works on pastoral care, both old and new, giving to the laity of the Oxford convents' pastoral hinterland the firstfruits of scholastic and mendicant pastoral care. In the 1220s and

¹ *Rot. Hug.* II, 170-71. On Northampton, see H.G. Richardson, 'The Schools of Northampton in the Twelfth Century', *EHR* 56 (1941), 595-605, and C.H. Lawrence, 'The University of Oxford and the Chronicle of the Barons' War', *EHR* 95 (1980), 99-113.

² *Rot. Hug.* III, 101-02, 35. At this time, Richard of Wetheringsett would have been teaching as chancellor (*Fasti Lincoln*, 17).

³ *Rot. Hug.* I, 54-55, 82.

⁴ R.W. Southern, 'From Schools to University', in J.I. Catto, ed., *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), 1-36, at 2.

⁵ Catto, *Early Oxford Schools*, *passim*.

⁶ 'Sermons of Jordan of Saxony'. Jordan referred to 'prelati', which Peter the Chanter had equated with 'rural priests': *Verbum Adbreviatum*, 361.

1230s, therefore, Oxonians appear to have had some of the most theologically advanced, state-of-the-*ars artium* pastoral care on offer anywhere in the British Isles. Since Oxford was a major town which attracted many people for many purposes, from trade to legal proceedings,¹ even preaching within the town would have allowed the friars a widespread pastorate in proportion to the origins of the travelers who attended their sermons or received other pastoral care from them.

Friars and secular clergy have too often been studied in isolation from one another, so it is easy to forget to consider the mendicants as transmitters of pastoral ideas to parish clergy; it is worthwhile to recall here Moorman's suggestion that parish clergy would also have attended the sermons of mendicant friars and absorbed ideas about preaching and theology from them.² As frequent public preaching by mendicants was apparently heard in Oxford before anywhere else in Britain, this process would have had a head-start in the region of Oxford. Since the friary schools were also open to secular scholars, some parish clergy in the immediate environs of Oxford may have received a pastorally-oriented education that would have left no record.

The archdeacon of Oxford from 1254 to 1258 was Master Robert Marsh, brother of the Oxford Franciscan Adam Marsh.³ Here we find another example of the effects friars could have on the care of souls through parish clergy: personal relationships with their supervisors. Although Grosseteste had trusted Robert to be his official and the vicar-general of the diocese when he was at the papal *curia* in 1245 and 1250,⁴ Adam saw fit during Robert's archidiaconate to lecture him on being more careful in admitting presentees to benefices.⁵ Nor was Robert the only recipient of such a letter: Master William Lupus,

¹ Dodd, ed., *Oxford before the University*, *passim*; Southern, 'From Schools to University', 1-15.

² Moorman, *Church Life*, 79. Jordan of Saxony certainly expected his Oxford sermon to have this effect.

³ *Fasti Lincoln*, 37.

⁴ *Fasti Lincoln*, 37.

⁵ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 198-99.

archdeacon of Lincoln 1248-1255, got an earful on the subject from Adam Marsh upon appointment to that office;¹ Archbishop Sewald of York found himself the recipient of a treatise by Friar Adam on his duties, including on instituting only worthy clergy;² and Adam even came close to admonishing Grosseteste on the matter, which suggests that he had a bee in his cowl rather than that his brother Robert was a reckless appointer of unworthy clergy.³ Adam had also been close to his brother's penultimate predecessor in the archdeaconry, John of St. Giles (archdeacon 1240-1249),⁴ who presumably heard the Franciscan's views on this matter in person. How far any of these men was influenced by Adam's well-intentioned harangues is beyond the ability of our sources to tell; but he was not bashful in this matter, and we can expect that his opinions were heard widely, especially among higher clergy and especially around Oxford.

Long after the Dominicans and Franciscans established a foothold in Oxford, they were joined by other mendicant orders: the Carmelites arrived in 1256,⁵ the Friars of the Sack in 1261 or 1262,⁶ and the Austin Friars in 1266.⁷ The Friars of the Sack had the right to preach to the laity and hear their confessions until the Second Council of Lyons proscribed the order in 1274.⁸ The Carmelites and Austins were hearing confessions in Oxford, as demonstrated by an injunction of Archbishop Pecham, who in 1280 ordered the archdeacon of Oxford to forbid these two orders from hearing confessions, though he said nothing against their preaching.⁹

Very few parishes in thirteenth-century England were served pastorally by priests with full masters' degrees. Starting in the 1260s,

¹ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 190-93; *Fasti Lincoln*, 26.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, 438-89, esp. 443-47, 459-66. On 466 he held up Grosseteste (of pious memory) as a shining example.

³ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 138-39, 168-69.

⁴ *Monumenta Franciscana*, 172-73; *Fasti Lincoln*, 37.

⁵ MCHW, 79.

⁶ *MRH*, 247.

⁷ *MRH*, 243.

⁸ *DEC*, 326-27.

⁹ *Epist. Pecham I*, 99-100, dated 28 Feb. 1280. Pecham noted that these orders were shriving clergy and laity alike.

however, there appears to have been a sudden surge in the institutions of *magistri* to both rectorial and vicarial benefices in the archdeaconry of Oxford. With rectories, which are the lion's share of these, it is often difficult to tell whether the presentee spent any time in the benefice at all, much less serving it personally in such a way as to have noteworthy effects on the care of souls: more often he simply had a vicar. There are indications of residence in some cases, however. At the Council of Oxford in 1222, Archbishop Langton declared that no church with an annual income of less than five marks should be served by a vicar or chaplain. Five marks was to be the minimum salary for a vicar, so the rector could not skim something off the top and hire a replacement: he had to serve personally.¹ Urban parishes were often small and poor; such was the case in Oxford, and some were so poor that they seem to have been vacant from time to time because they could not support a priest. During vacancies, the parishioners likely had recourse to other parish churches or the chapels of the friars. Yet from the early 1260s one finds *magistri* being instituted to Oxford parishes, not all of which had a reported income large enough to support vicars. Assuming that these rectors were University men, as seems probable, they also would be physically present to serve their charges. The phenomenon seems to be one of University men taking on part-time pastoral jobs to augment their support while they taught or studied. Whether masters of arts read and digested the latest handbooks on preaching and confession, we do not know, but unlike some rural parish priests they could not plead insufficient literacy for failing to do so. University sermons, often delivered by mendicant scholars, were another source for the latest pastoral ideas for members of the university serving parishes.

The institution rolls of Bishops Gravesend and Sutton include in almost every instance the reason that a rectory or vicarage was vacant, by death, resignation or deprivation. One may thus piece

¹ C&S II, 112.

together the service of individual churches, though imperfectly because the institution rolls for Oxford from 1253-1258 and 1280-1289¹ are lost. Numerous Oxford parishes were held, and some presumably served, for long periods by masters. Master Robert Maynard was vicar of St. Mary Magdalene from December 1268. He was certainly a priest by 1274.² He had not been replaced before the record breaks off in 1279, so presumably he was still serving at that time, though he became an Augustinian Canon of Oseney by 1281.³ Master Thomas de Stamford resigned the vicarage of St. Giles in 1274 after an unknown tenure.⁴ Master Robert de Fletham, instituted to St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1275, became Doctor of Theology sometime before 1284; he was still rector in 1285.⁵ His rectory apparently helped to finance his studies in theology, which may have been repaid at least with the occasional sermon to his parishioners and perhaps much more.

The Master Henry de Stanton who was vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, from 1261 to 1274 is an interesting case. He was a Doctor of Canon Law by 1265 and after his tenure as vicar would become Chancellor of the University; in 1271-72, while still vicar, he also served as an official in the Court of Canterbury.⁶ Clearly he was not resident all the time. This was Oxford's wealthiest benefice and its vicarage was probably sufficient to be treated as a rectory, with Henry taking an income and paying chaplains to do at least some of his pastoral work, provided that he was dispensed for non-residence. However, provincial canons and Grosseteste's statutes forbade such practices, and in the absence of evidence of a long-term dispensation, it is likely that he was only allowed occasional absences and that he

¹ The partial transcript that has been discovered recently by D.M. Smith includes only the patrons of benefices, not incumbents, and no Oxford city parishes (personal communication, 28 April 2005).

² *Rot. Gravesend*, 221, 250, 252, 225.

³ *BRUO*, 1250.

⁴ *Rot. Gravesend*, 225. The institution rolls are imperfect, but there is no entry for St. Giles before this time in Gravesend's episcopate, so Thomas may have served there since before 1259.

⁵ *BRUO*, 701.

⁶ *Rot. Gravesend*, 214-15, 225.

dispensed at least some pastoral service in his vicarage.¹ The rectory was appropriated to Merton College in 1294, after which the vicars were mostly fellows of the College, who would be locally resident.² The extramural church of St. Cross, just northeast of Oxford, was a dependent chapel of St. Peter-in-the-East, and Merton may have kept more funds 'in-house' by employing their own as chaplains there as well.

Master William of Winchester was instituted to All Saints', Oxford, in 1249; Master Richard de Staunford received the church in 1263; the church was commended to Master William de Dunham in 1269, probably on Richard's death or resignation; and William held it until his death in 1290.³ When his mortal illness in 1290 rendered him incapable of pastoral work in All Saints' parish, Bishop Sutton appointed as his coadjutor the rector of St. Michael Northgate. The terms of the document suggest that Master William had been seeing to his spiritual charge personally.⁴ As this was not a wealthy parish, all three of these graduate vicars likely served in person.⁵ Master Hugh of Lincoln became rector of St. Aldate in 1271 and held the benefice until his death in 1299.⁶

There are many other masters of whom we have only single mentions as rectors or more rarely vicars in the archdeaconry of Oxford. At Bampton, twelve miles west of Oxford, Master Roger de Bromyard was instituted to the vicarage in 1276,⁷ and when Master William of Bodmin resigned the vicarage in 1295, he was replaced by Master Richard de Beeston.⁸ Bampton's parishioners in the last quarter of the century may therefore have been receiving substantially better-informed pastoral care than they had known in previous generations and in comparison to their contemporary neighbours; as a

¹ *C&S* II, 112, 249, 273.

² *VCH* Oxford IV, 399.

³ *Rot. Grosseteste*, 493; *Rot. Gravesend*, 216, 221; *Reg. Sutton* VIII, 172.

⁴ *Reg. Sutton* III, 1.

⁵ *VCH* Oxford IV, 370.

⁶ *Rot. Gravesend*, 223; *Reg. Sutton* VIII, 202.

⁷ *Rot. Gravesend*, 214, 224.

⁸ *Reg. Sutton* VIII, 189.

rural parish this is an interesting anomaly.¹ The concentration is on the urban and suburban parishes. Of the sixteen parish churches in or near Oxford, only five are not recorded to have been held or served by *magistri* in the thirteenth century; and given the incompleteness of the records, some of them may have been.² Comparisons with Cambridge are impossible given the lack of Ely diocesan registers, but outside of England's second university town, there seems no possible place that could claim such a concentration of *magistri* serving parish churches.

Although many of the scholars of Oxford were clergy, those who were not regulars were still considered parishioners, and as such may be considered alongside the laity with whom we are chiefly concerned. In 1293, Bishop Sutton granted Balliol College the privilege of a private college chapel, provided that the scholars all attended their parish church (St. Mary Magdalene). The scholars of Balliol soon threw open their doors and welcomed many other scholars on All Saints' and other feasts, detracting from attendance at Oxford parishes. Sutton threatened to revoke the chapel's licence unless the abuse stopped, which it apparently did.³

Oxford parochial life contrasted sharply with the notional norm in the countryside. Although some larger rural parishes had chapels-of-ease for outlying settlements, most seem to have had a single parish church serving an area coterminous with the manor, which often had a core settlement near the church. The congregation and the local community were the same group of people, attending the same masses, confessing to the same parish priest, putting their tithes into the same barns, subject to the same manorial court. Most towns were

¹ Two other rural Oxfordshire parishes are known to have had masters as vicars in the last third of the century: Lewknor, fourteen miles southwest of Oxford, from 1274 (*Rot. Gravesend*, 226) and Chipping Norton, eighteen miles northwest of Oxford, from 1271 (*ibid.*, 223).

² Counting as extramural churches St. Budoc, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Clement. Those to whom no master is known to have been presented are St. George-in-the-Bailey, St. Martin, St. Edward (too poor to be served in the late thirteenth century), St. Frideswide and St. Budoc. I discount the church of St. Thomas outside Oseney Abbey since it was a donative benefice (the abbot presented directly and not through the bishop); therefore its vicars were not enrolled in diocesan records. St. Cross was a dependent chapel of St. Peter-in-East: *VCH Oxford* IV, 376.

³ *Reg. Sutton* III, 1-li; IV, 83-85, 94-95, 97, 132-33.

divided into numerous parishes, and so this link was weaker. In Oxford it was weaker still in that parish churches were sometimes not served at all for a period of time and the parishioners presumably resorted to other parish churches. When the poor and long-vacant church of St. Edward was united with the neighbouring parish of St. Frideswide in 1298, it was likely a recognition of existing practice of the two parishes, both under the patronage of St. Frideswide's Priory, acting as one: for parishioners of St. Edward's desiring such services as confession, baptism or marriage, or even Sunday mass, the mother church next door would be the obvious place to seek them. St. Budoc's parish was diminished by the growth of the Dominicans and the Friars of the Sack; the resultant loss of tithes and parishioners led to its closure in 1265. The church itself became the chapel of the Friars of the Sack, and the parish was divided among St. Ebbe, St. Peter-le-Bailey, and St. Thomas.¹ The mendicant churches, especially of the Franciscans² and Dominicans,³ could hold large congregations by the later thirteenth century; and the temporary or permanent closure of one's own parish church may have encouraged many of the laity to resort to them as parish churches, changing their expectations of the style and form of the liturgy, the level of preaching, and the subtlety of morals in hearing confessions. Attending another parish church served by a master could have had similar effects, perhaps less so for the liturgy. Between friars, canons, scholars and parsons, churches filled and churches vacant, the laity in thirteenth-century Oxford were offered a shifting hodgepodge of pastoral care quite different from that in the countryside and probably not paralleled closely by anywhere else in England. Even within the town, pastoral care had a topography. The Franciscans and Dominicans living in the

¹ *VCH Oxford* IV, 373.

² The size of the Franciscan church is not known: A.R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Manchester, 1937). However, the convent had about the same number of friars as the London convent in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (*MRH*, 226-27), and the London convent had a large nave: C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Manchester, 1915), 38-39

³ *EEFP*, 1-16.

southern suburbs and the Carmelites and the Austins to the north may have attracted adherents from their respective neighbourhoods.

The great numbers of friars in Oxford cannot all have been pastorally useful in the town. Many, of course, were students at the *studia*, but the *studia* were hosted by otherwise normal convents with pastorally active friars. The Oxford friars proposed for licences to hear confessions in 1300 were more numerous than from any other convent in the record, twenty-two Franciscans and thirty-eight Dominicans.¹ The number of qualified preachers was likely greater still. By 1266 there were five friaries in Oxford, and at busy preaching seasons such as Lent and Advent, many of their inhabitants, perhaps including lectors and students, went into the countryside. Nonetheless, the laity living in the town and suburbs must have encountered friars and their pastoral care far more often than those in the countryside.

¹ Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 231.

III.4: The Diocese of Exeter

A. Diocesan Administration and the Care of Souls

Although Exeter's records are fairly rich for the latter half of the century, its earlier thirteenth-century bishops have left nothing akin to the records left by their contemporaries in Salisbury, Lincoln or many other dioceses. Bartholomew, bishop 1161-1184, was one of the leading scholars in England in his day, and he attended to pastoral care in compiling an influential penitential,¹ but his successors did not rise to his level for perhaps a century. The cathedral chapter was arranged in an old-fashioned way, not having even a dean until 1225.²

Henry Marshall, bishop 1194-1206, was a political appointment, though not careless in pastoral duties.³ In most of his appropriations of parishes, he required the appropriator to make suitable provision for a chaplain or vicar, though the emoluments are seldom specified in the same documents.⁴ He also solidified the position of the vicars choral who maintained the cathedral liturgy.⁵ Chroniclers add nothing to our knowledge.⁶ In 1207, when the see was vacant, King John commissioned Eugenius, bishop of Armagh, as suffragan for Exeter and Worcester dioceses, but he can have had little chance to exercise episcopal functions before the interdict.⁷ The interdict being lifted, Simon of Apulia, dean of York Minster, was elected. His few surviving *acta* tell us nearly nothing.⁸ He attended the Fourth Lateran Council,⁹ but how far he executed its provisions in his administration is unknown. Presumably he was involved in the division of the city of Exeter into parishes in 1222, which may have replaced a closest-

¹ A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937).

² *Fasti Exeter*, xviii.

³ *EEA 11*, xliv-xlv; *Chron. Maj.* II, 407.

⁴ *EEA 12*, 181-216a *passim*.

⁵ N.I. Orme, 'The Medieval Clergy of Exeter Cathedral, I: The Vicars and Annuellars', *RTDA* 113 (1981), 79-102, at 81.

⁶ Having examined *Hist. Angl.*; *Chron. Maj.*; *Annales Monastici*; Trivet, *Annales*; and the 'Breve Chronicon Exoniense' printed in J.N. Dalton, ed., *Ordinale Exon.* I (London, 1909), xix-xxiii.

⁷ *EEA 11*, xlvi.

⁸ *EEA 11*, xlvi-xlvii; *EEA 12*, 217-25.

⁹ *C&S* II, 48.

church-door system.¹ The chroniclers noted his death in 1223 with little comment. Whether either of these men was diligent in supervising pastoral care cannot be said, nor are new departures visible.

It is only with William Brewer, bishop 1224-1244, that episcopal pastoral administration becomes more visible. Barlow observed that the ‘main qualification of the new bishop ... was that he was a nephew of the royal servant of the same name who had become very powerful in his native shire.’² Matthew Paris described him as ‘remarkable in morals, lineage and knowledge’.³ His surviving *acta* are more numerous than those of his two predecessors combined;⁴ he reorganised the cathedral chapter;⁵ and he issued the first known statutes for his diocese.⁶ By accompanying Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, on crusade from 1227-1231, he also drew chroniclers’ attention.⁷

His reforms in the first few years of his episcopate were apparently motivated by a desire to organise his affairs before leaving them untended while on crusade.⁸ Diocesan finances certainly plummeted in his absence;⁹ the care of souls may have slipped similarly, for even a conscientious archdeacon or vicegerent armed with delegated authority may have been less impressive in his master’s extended absence.

Nonetheless, the diocesan statutes issued by Brewer, probably before his departure,¹⁰ provided diocesan clergy with a significant

¹ ‘Breve Chronicon’, xxi, records that ‘limitate sunt parochie civitatis Exonie.’ See below for further discussion.

² *EEA* 11, xlvii.

³ ‘...moribus, sanguine, et scientia spectabilis’: *Chron. Maj.* IV, 491.

⁴ *EEA* 12, 226-315.

⁵ *Fasti Exeter*, xviii.

⁶ *C&S* II, 227-37; *Eng. Synodalia*, 76-79.

⁷ E.g. *Annales Monastici* I, 70, 73; II, 85, 303; III, 112.

⁸ *EEA* 11, lxxii.

⁹ *EEA* 11, liii.

¹⁰ Barlow suggests 1225 x 1226: *EEA* 11, l. C.R. Cheney suggested, based on textual variants, that Brewer used the version reissued by Poore after his translation to Durham in 1228 (*English Synodalia*, 78-79). Neither claimed certainty. However, the absence of any debt to Peter des Roches’ Winchester Statutes of 1224 (*C&S* II, 125-37) suggests a date before Brewer spent several years in des Roches’ company on crusade.

pastoral treatise. The statutes are extant in one fragmentary copy, showing strong dependence on Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes of a few years before, not without independent pastoral attention. For instance, in Poore's statute ordering parish clergy to maintain peace among the laity, he wrote only of their own parishioners; Brewer expanded this to include peacemaking with people from other parishes.¹

Although the statutes are fragmentary, the borrowings that appear in other sets showing no independent use of Salisbury I enable a conjectural and very partial reconstruction of what Brewer borrowed from Poore and how he changed it.

Notably absent from the fragment are several of Poore's chapters relating to clerical discipline and payment of tithe. The Exeter I fragment follows Poore's order loosely; an omission may only reflect a chapter that was borrowed but placed later in the sequence, in the part now lost. Brewer may thus have consolidated pastoral material at the beginning and disciplinary material later.

Powicke and Cheney noted some parallels between Salisbury I and Exeter II, issued by Bishop Quinel in 1287 (discussed below), but in no case are there grounds to argue that Quinel had Poore's original before him as well as Exeter I; the same can be said of the Wells statutes (circa 1258) that were Quinel's other main source.² Most textual content that is in both Salisbury I and Wells or Exeter II was probably also in the intermediary text, Exeter I.³ Both Wells and Exeter II omit the disciplinary chapters; perhaps Brewer did omit them, focusing on pastoral material instead. The pastoral material in the fragment includes Poore's injunctions on teaching doctrine to the laity;⁴ his introductory chapter on the seven sacraments;⁵ most of his

¹ *C&S II*, 64, 231; *Eng. Synodalia*, 78.

² *C&S II*, 586-626.

³ The exception is where another set of statutes can be seen as the intermediary text, as for instance Salisbury II for Wells; yet this does not indicate that matter was not in Exeter I as well.

⁴ *C&S II*, 228.

⁵ *C&S II*, 232.

material on baptism;¹ and some of his material on penance.² This includes Poore's injunction that laypeople should communicate at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, preparing each time by confession, to which Brewer added that one may confess to another priest with permission of one's own priest.³ We also learn something from this chapter on the work of the bishop's penitentiary, to whom were reserved major and notorious sins: the penitent was to be sent to him with a letter explaining the case and its circumstances, and the penitent would then be sent back to his or her priest with a letter of absolution including the assigned penance: anyone returning without such a letter is not to be believed.⁴

Given the treatment of baptism and penance, Poore's homiletic material on the other sacraments was probably substantially followed as well.

By considering Wells and Exeter II, we can suggest that Exeter I also included the following provisions: pregnant women approaching full term should be enjoined to confess;⁵ clergy are given the words for 'conditional baptism' for when it is unknown whether someone was properly baptised;⁶ matrimony is to be commended;⁷ the laity should be enjoined to believe in transubstantiation of bread and wine;⁸ priests hearing confessions must not ask the names of others implicated in the penitent's sin.⁹ Brewer also introduced the strictures of the Council of Oxford against clerical concubines¹⁰ and its requirements for sufficient liturgical books, vessels and vestments.¹¹ Whatever else Brewer's statutes contained, we may trust that they put a significant amount of pastoral instruction into the hands of parish

¹ C&S II, 233-34.

² C&S II, 236-37.

³ C&S II, 236-37. Whether this addition was prompted by the arrival of the friars is unknown.

⁴ C&S II, 235-36.

⁵ C&S II, 589-90.

⁶ C&S II, 590-91.

⁷ C&S II, 596-979.

⁸ C&S II, 991.

⁹ C&S II, 991-92.

¹⁰ C&S II, 229-30.

¹¹ C&S II, 232.

clergy. Nonetheless, 'Because of his absences his government [of the see] must have been lax and might be regarded as irresponsible.'¹

Richard Blund,² the chancellor since 1227, was elected bishop early in 1245 and consecrated in October.³ His few surviving *acta* include a modification of the competing jurisdictions of the chapter and the archdeacon of Exeter over churches in the city, and the ordination of two vicarages.⁴ Matthew Paris, noting his death in 1257, called him 'a man without controversy, commendable in morals and all literature', which sounds suspiciously like a stock phrase concealing a lack of information.⁵

Walter Bronescombe, his successor as chancellor, likewise succeeded to the episcopate; he was consecrated on 10 March 1258, less than three months after Blund's death.⁶ He had been archdeacon of Surrey since 1245 and was probably of Devonian origin.⁷ Though not opposed to pluralism in principle – he held some half-dozen livings with care of souls in plurality by papal licence⁸ –, he did not permit unlicensed pluralism in his diocese.⁹ He declined to admit the notorious pluralist Bogo de Clare (already a canon of Exeter Cathedral) to a rectory in his diocese despite papal licence, perhaps because he 'thought Bogo's pluralism and non-residence beyond reason'.¹⁰

Bronescombe's records show a capable and dedicated ecclesiastical administrator at work. Through his archdeacons and other assistants, he had the diocese searched for abuses, such as

¹ *EEA* 11, liii.

² Also Blond, Blondy, or Albus.

³ *Fasti* Exeter, 5.

⁴ *EEA* 12, 320, 321, 327.

⁵ '...vir sine querela, moribus et literis omnibus commendabilis.' *Chron. Maj.* IV, 491.

⁶ *Fasti* Exeter, 5-6.

⁷ *Fasti* Monastic, 94; *Reg. Bronescombe*, xv.

⁸ *Reg. Bronescombe*, xvi-xvii. It is likely that he resigned all his cures upon becoming bishop.

⁹ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 674, 1248-50.

¹⁰ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 966, 1124-25 and n.; *Reg. Sutton* II, 3.

non-residence or non-performance of parochial duties,¹ the neglect of the abbot of Hartland to supply a vicar and chaplains to the parish church of Hartland and its chapels,² and the closure of the parish church of Dotton by the monks of Dunkeswell who farmed the manor. The last was discovered and settled at Bronescombe's personal visitation; he ordered the church to be restored, providing a monk or secular to celebrate divine service there.³ There are other mentions of episcopal visitation of parishes in the register, one of which refers to a visitation roll.⁴

Bronescombe also visited parishes to consecrate churches and altars in several extended perambulations in autumn 1259 and Lent 1269; it seems likely that other inspection, formal or informal, took place on these occasions.⁵ He also ordained sixty-five vicarages in a geographically systematic fashion in August 1269: this was done at writing desks, not on horseback, yet some of the information may have been gathered the previous spring during Bronescombe's consecration tour.⁶

Though Bronescombe perambulated his diocese, he could not cover it alone, as he clearly felt by 1278 when he wrote to his archdeacons, 'The burden of our office presses upon us with so heavy a weight that our care to remain with due diligence on watch both day and night scarcely suffices to lighten the pressure of so great a burden'.⁷ Consequently, he carefully ordered the systems of visitation and administration through deputies. He settled a dispute between the dean and chapter of the cathedral on the one hand and the archdeacon of Exeter on the other regarding jurisdiction over churches in the cathedral city and its suburbs and churches

¹ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1248-50.

² *Reg. Bronescombe*, 335.

³ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 213. As one of the abuses corrected was the removal of the font, if a monk did serve the church, he may have baptised and carried out other pastoral duties, though this is uncertain.

⁴ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 127 (cf. 131), 1110; see also xxxiv.

⁵ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 138-205 *passim*, 731.

⁶ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 734-43, 745-98. Several more were ordained in August 1270: *ibid.*, 809, 813-16.

⁷ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1248-50, Robinson's translation.

appropriated to the chapter.¹ Cleaning house late in 1277 before the impending metropolitical visitation of Archbishop Kilwardby, he ordered that the procurations² of archdeacons and their assistants be kept within the limits laid down by the Fourth Lateran Council, suggesting recent contrary practice.³ Presumably related was the bishop's mandate to the archdeacons in February 1278 to search out parish clergy who were not sufficiently ordained, failing in their duties, or unlicensed absentees or pluralists.⁴

Like many other bishops, Bronescombe was called away from his diocese frequently by the demands of royal service or ecclesiastical business. Preparing to leave his diocese in the first year of his episcopate, he issued letters empowering certain cathedral dignitaries, as well as the dean of Wells Cathedral, to carry out in the bishop's absence specific duties, including issuing letters dimissory to ordinands (permitting ordination by another bishop) and admitting men to benefices valued at up to ten marks.⁵ He made similar provisions in 1273 '[s]o that the benefices which shall fall vacant while we are travelling overseas may not be deprived of pastoral care'.⁶ On this occasion he attended the Second Council of Lyons, which sat May-July 1274.⁷ Bronescombe was soon invoking the Council's thirteenth canon, which reaffirmed that clergy with care of souls who took unduly long to be ordained priests could be deprived.⁸ This had been a concern of his earlier in his episcopate as well: barely a month after his consecration, he wrote to his archdeacons to cite all insufficiently ordained rectors and vicars to come to the cathedral two

¹ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 818-19.

² Hospitality, or money or goods in lieu thereof, due to the visitor from the visited. See R.E. Rodes, jr., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 1977), 137-38.

³ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1242.

⁴ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1248-50.

⁵ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 46. The bishop was in London in late June and Paris in late July: *ibid.*, 49-66; he was back in England by 8 September (67) and in Exeter by February 1259 (77).

⁶ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 954.

⁷ *DEC*, 304; *Reg. Bronescombe*, 976-82.

⁸ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1092 (cf. 1134); *DEC* 321-22.

months hence to be ordained.¹ He issued similar injunctions at least twice more.²

In December 1276, Bronescombe had collated Master Peter Quinel,³ an Exeter man and archdeacon of St. David's, to a prebend in Exeter Cathedral.⁴ Upon Bronescombe's death on 22 July 1280, Peter was elected his successor, and consecrated on 10 November: once again the diocese spent little time without a consecrated bishop.⁵ He governed the see for the next eleven years.⁶

Quinel's register survives only in part, mostly covering 1281-1284, but this probably gives a representative sampling of his activity. Licences for non-residence for study occur from September 1281 to January 1288.⁷ During this time Quinel granted twenty-nine licences to twenty-seven men, totalling forty-eight years of study.⁸ For the most part, we may wonder how much this benefited parishioners: studies were also a means of advancement to a lucrative sinecure. Philip of Exeter, archdeacon of Barnstaple, was licenced to study theology for two years from September 1281, unless recalled sooner. This could benefit parish clergy whom he might teach in archidiaconal chapters or clarify theological matters in cases he heard in his consistory. However, Quinel did recall him earlier and had to admonish him because he did not respond with due haste; perhaps Philip's official, Master Ralph, rector of Hemyock, was not up to his task.⁹

A clearer case of benefit to the care of souls was the case of Laurence, vicar of South Tawton, whom Quinel licensed in March 1283 to come to Exeter to study because 'he desires to be more fully

¹ *Reg. Bronescombe*, xxx; 23, 30.

² *Reg. Bronescombe*, 986, 1248-51; cf. 1200.

³ Or 'Quinil'; often incorrectly 'Quivil' in older literature, hence *Reg. Quivil*.

⁴ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1211; J.H. Denton, 'Quinil [Quivil], Peter (c. 1230-1291)', *ODNB*; *Fasti Wales*, 54; *Fasti Exeter*, 61.

⁵ *Fasti Exeter*, 6.

⁶ It is much to be hoped that Quinel's register, inadequately edited by Hingeston-Randolph, will be re-edited for the Canterbury and York Society as *Reg. Bronescombe* has been.

⁷ *Reg. Quivil*, 327, 375.

⁸ *Reg. Quivil*, 313-382 *passim*.

⁹ *Reg. Quivil*, 327.

informed in Sacred Scripture', provided that he returned to his church at least once every fortnight, at important feasts, and during the whole of Lent and Advent.¹ South Tawton is on the northern fringe of Dartmoor, seventeen miles west of Exeter by a direct road.² Laurence's parishioners would have found their care of souls neglected in some respects, such as visitation of the sick and regular liturgical functions – no provision was made for a chaplain – but his sermons likely improved, and possibly confessions as well. He and Quinel apparently considered this a fair exchange, and Laurence stands out for his diligence and commitment.

Quinel continued Bronescombe's policies of enforcing residence³ and sufficient ordination,⁴ ordaining vicarages⁵ and visiting parishes,⁶ and he similarly delegated authority to induct presentees to parish churches in his absence.⁷ But Denton is mistaken to argue that he 'continued the work of previous bishops rather than making significant new departures.'⁸

Significant departures were certainly made in Quinel's statutes of 1287 (Exeter II), which, taken together with the appended treatise on confession, were the longest statutes known to have been issued by any English bishop in the thirteenth century, running over ninety pages in *Councils and Synods*.⁹ Although Quinel's work was heavily indebted to the Wells statutes of circa 1258 and drew on numerous other sets, including Exeter I, much original work was done in bringing in points of canon law, including the more recent provincial councils.¹⁰

¹ '...desiderat in Sacra Scriptura plenius informari'. *Reg. Quivil*, 375.

² Now the A30, this is the road on the map following this chapter that runs directly west from Exeter.

³ *Reg. Quivil*, 363, 381.

⁴ *Reg. Quivil*, 337-38, 365, 381.

⁵ *Reg. Quivil*, 369-70, 371, 372.

⁶ *Reg. Quivil*, 316, 365-66.

⁷ *Reg. Quivil*, 367. His absences seem to have been few: Denton, 'Quinil'.

⁸ Denton, 'Quinil'.

⁹ *C&S II*: discussion, 982-84; statutes (cited as 'Exeter II' with editorial chapter number), 984-1059; *summula*, 1059-77.

¹⁰ *C&S II*, 984.

Quinel's statutes begin by discussing Christ as the physician of the soul and the sacraments as the medicines prescribed for the wounds of sin.¹ Accordingly, the first chapter is on the sacraments in general, and the next seven chapters are on the sacraments severally.² The longest of these chapters is on the legally complex subject of matrimony; only slightly shorter is the chapter on penance.³ The latter includes the thrice-yearly requirement of confession, as well as instructions from statutes of Wells and Exeter I such as hearing women's confessions in a visible place⁴ and not asking the names of others involved in a sin being confessed.⁵ The episcopal penitentiary is mentioned. Quinel's register includes a letter about a public penitent, along the lines suggested in Brewer's statute,⁶ which letter the bishop himself had issued in 1283; apparently the office of penitentiary had lapsed, for the endowed joint office of episcopal penitentiary and subdean of the cathedral was established in 1284.⁷ This would make the processes of penance for severe sins more effective by removing it from the hands of a busy bishop.

In the same chapter, local penitentiaries who heard clerical confessions were encouraged to seek the judgement of the bishop's penitentiary if they were in any doubt about penitential matters; these penitentiaries, moreover, were to be chosen based on their knowledge and merit. Thus serious or complex penitential cases were to be referred to a specialist, enabling greater standardisation of the penances assigned. If part of clerical education in hearing confessions was having one's own confession heard, this system formed a

¹ Exeter II, prologue.

² Exeter II, 1-8.

³ Exeter II, 7, 5.

⁴ Exeter II, 5.

⁵ Exeter II, 5; cf. *C&S* II, 73 (Salisbury I, 40), which we may assume was included in Exeter I.

⁶ *C&S* II, 235-36.

⁷ 1283 letter: *Reg. Quivil*, 314. *Reg. Quivil*, 324-25, shows creation of the office in 1284; see also *Fasti Exeter*, 79. He was diocesan penitentiary and not merely penitentiary for the cathedral clergy: *Ordinale Exon.* I, 5 indicates that he was to perambulate the diocese once per year to call upon those penitents who could not come to the cathedral due to illness.

hierarchy dedicated to penance which could diffuse such specialist knowledge to practising priests in the most concrete of forms.

Quinel also provided direct literary instruction in the art of shriving by appending a *summula* on confession to his statutes. This work, originally written by Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, to accompany his statutes of 1240,¹ occupies fifteen pages in the modern edition;² combined with the chapter on confession in the statutes (another four pages), Exeter's parish priests had more instructional material put into their hands by their bishop in this form than any other English diocesan clergy of whom we know. Perhaps reflecting his experience as an archdeacon, Quinel added,

Let this tractate be had in each church or separate parish under penalty of one mark due to the archdeacon of the place, or less or more according to the ability of the ignorant priests [to pay], which we commit to the judgement of the archdeacon, in peril of his soul, reserving to ourselves the power of punishing the archdeacon if he should be found negligent[.]³

Clearly, Quinel took penitential matters seriously.

Four questions can be said to surround any attempt to reconstruct the realities of pastoral care using prescriptive texts: diffusion, comprehension, interpretation and implementation. In addition to the encouragement for textual dissemination given by Quinel's cautionary clause, we have the records of the visitations of parish churches fourteen years later, in 1301, which will be discussed further at the end of this chapter. Of the fifteen parishes whose records were printed by Hingeston-Randolph, at least five had copies of the statutes, which may be meant to include the *summula*.⁴ This is

¹ J. Goering and D. Taylor, 'The Summulae of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe and Peter Quinel', *Speculum* 67 (1992), 576-94.

² C&S II, 1059-77.

³ 'Hic tractatus habeatur in singulis ecclesiis vel diversis parochiis sub pena unius marce archidiacono loci solvende, vel minus aut plus secundum facultatem sacerdotis ignorantis, quod arbitrio archidiaconi in periculo anime sue committimus, reservando nobis potestatem puniendi archidiaconum si negligens fuerit inventus'. C&S II, 1077; cf. Exeter II, 20 *in fine*.

⁴ H.M. Whitley, 'Visitations of Devonshire Churches', *RTDA* 42 (1910), 446-74, at 451-63; see further discussion below. There may have been more copies: the record for Winkleigh seems incomplete (452), and that of Upottery (458) records that nothing except that the antiphoner needed correction.

far from universal dissemination. Visitation records are problematic since we cannot know how representative the sampling was, and in this case, the churches were certainly atypical by being under the jurisdiction of the chapter instead of the archdeacons. Nonetheless, we do see that the text was disseminated in some concrete cases. Since the representatives of the chapter probably did not visit their peculiar churches as often as the archdeacons visited theirs, the proportion of churches in the diocese with copies was as likely to be higher as lower. Moreover, since the visitations were apparently made using the detailed directions for them given in Quinel's statutes,¹ it is likely that the vicars or rectors lacking these texts were commensurately fined and, given that the purpose of such investigation was correction, that the remaining ten learned their costly lesson and acquired copies before the next visitation.

Comprehension raises the question of the literacy of parish clergy, addressed at greater length in I.3 above. But Quinel rewrote a statute of Wells² requiring his archdeacons to search out insufficiently lettered parish clergy and denounce them to him, so that, if found incompetent, they might be summarily suspended.³ In terms of theological knowledge, parish clergy were to be examined as to whether they knew the Decalogue and seven sins well enough to expound them diligently (*solicite*) to the laity, along with sufficient knowledge of how to confer the sacraments and at least a simple understanding of the articles of faith in the *Quicumque vult* and the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, in which they were also to instruct the laity. This list is taken from the same Wells statute, and it is not far from the list given in Archbishop Pecham's *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, canon nine of his Council of Lambeth. However, there are divergences. Pecham did not require the *Quicumque vult*, and he merged the two creeds into a list of fourteen points. He also gave the two commandments of the Gospel, love of God and of neighbour; the seven

¹ Exeter II, 40.

² C&S II, 609-10.

³ Exeter II, 20.

works of mercy; and the seven cardinal virtues, none of which appears in Quinel's statute. Quinel referred the reader to the attached *summula* for instruction on the Decalogue and the seven sins¹ and to his foregoing chapters on the sacraments, while the penultimate chapter of the *summula* expounds the articles of faith.²

In addition to this specific instruction, Quinel mandated that clergy who entered the diocese had to be examined on their orders, literacy, behaviour and manners by the relevant archdeacon or the bishop before they could serve in the diocese;³ presumably this reflects the examination undergone by clergy being ordained in the diocese. Although clergy were not to be ordained without title, such as a vicarage, nonetheless they were forbidden to undertake the care of souls in the first year after ordination, unless required to by virtue of a vicarage or rectory:⁴ perhaps a chaplain was to be hired, to whom the new vicar or rector would be a sort of paying apprentice. Finally, Quinel attempted to revive the practice of churches supporting a young clerk as holy-water bearer, enabling him to pursue studies in the schools.⁵

As for interpretation and use, Quinel ordered that before the next Michaelmas (presumably one year from the *presens synodus* in which the statutes and *summula* were first presented) each parish priest should not only have a written copy (which he was probably expected to bring to the synod) but also 'should soundly understand the same and use it' (*et ipsam sane intelligat ac ea utatur*) under penalty of one mark paid to his archdeacon.⁶ This indicates examination by diocesan officials, which would discover not only ignorance but also misinterpretation. Whether it was used in practice could not be so readily ascertained, though it might be asked after at

¹ C&S II, 1062-69.

² C&S II, 1076.

³ Exeter II, 8.

⁴ Exeter II, 8, 36.

⁵ Exeter II, 29.

⁶ Exeter II, 20.

visitations:¹ it was in the archdeacons' interest to do so, as they pocketed the fines.²

Quinel also included provisions regarding liturgy in the parish church. He provided a detailed list of the vessels, vestments and books that each church was required to have, again including the statutes and *summula*, before the next Michaelmas.³ Forty-three feasts were ordered to be celebrated, including the patronal saint of the church and its dedication day, though as these could coincide with the others (e.g. in a church dedicated to All Saints), the number could be one or two fewer.⁴ Further endorsing patronal cults, he directed that each parish church should have a statute of the Virgin and one of the patron saint.⁵ Churches dedicated to the Trinity were often called Christ Church or St. Saviour;⁶ this may reflect using a statue of the only incarnated Person of the Trinity in this circumstance. Quinel gave his clergy a detailed exhortation to diligence in saying and singing the offices by night and day⁷ and ordered them to 'admonish diligently and [to] induce effectively their parishioners' to frequent the church on Sundays and feast-days.⁸ The injunction of Salisbury I and (apparently) Exeter I to teach about transubstantiation was repeated,⁹ and Quinel encouraged parishioners to donate alms for candles to burn on the altar by granting an indulgence of fifteen days' enjoined penance.¹⁰ This would reinforce to laypeople the importance and worthiness of the mass. In the same chapter he noted that people bowed at the elevation, and ordered priests to instruct them to kneel as well; moreover, bells were

¹ E.g., Whitley, 'Visitations', 451.

² C&S II, 1077.

³ Exeter II, 12.

⁴ Exeter II, 23. This does not count periods of days following a few feasts, such as the Octave of Christmas, also stipulated.

⁵ Exeter II, 12.

⁶ N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000), 246.

⁷ Exeter II, 21.

⁸ '... ut parochianos suos moneant diligenter et efficaciter inducant ...' Exeter II, 22.

⁹ Exeter II, 4; cf. C&S II, 77-78, 592 (Salisbury I and Wells cognates).

¹⁰ Exeter II, 4.

to be rung to excite devotion.¹ Despite Pecham's injunction in the Council of Lambeth that the chalice must not be given to the laity, Quinel retained the language of Richard Poore, probably copied by Exeter I, indicating that the laity were to be given the chalice.²

Although the liturgical use of Exeter was not mentioned by name in the statutes, our earliest glimpse of it comes from Quinel's register. In a paragraph among entries dating to 1285, an insertion between the *Pax* and the *Agnus Dei* at high mass is given; this would extend the time between transubstantiation and sacrifice.³ The priest and clerk prostrate themselves and recite Psalm 122 (123) with the *Gloria Patri*, followed by the *Kyrie* and *Pater Noster*; then come responses from the petitions of the *Te Deum laudamus*, and finally a prayer for the king. Whether this was an innovation or a codification of existing practice cannot be known, nor is it clear why the register was considered an appropriate place to record it.⁴

Visible in Quinel's register, though not his statutes, is his enforcement of the provision of the Council of Lambeth requiring rectors or vicars licensed for temporary non-residence to make extra monetary provision for the poor of their parishes; Quinel interpreted this to include the Franciscans and Dominicans, each of whom received a third of the provision stipulated.⁵ He also had copied into his register an *inspeximus* of a letter sent to him in 1281 by Archbishop Pecham, itself an *inspeximus* of a bull of Clement IV issued in 1265, confirming the privileges of the Friars Minor to preach, hear confessions, and assign penances with episcopal or papal licence, notwithstanding any objections from lower clergy.⁶ Quinel gave such approbation coequally to Preachers and Minors in his statutes, ordering that they be admitted for pastoral purposes and

¹ See I.5 above.

² *C&S* II, 894-95; cp. Exeter II, 4 *in fine*; *C&S* II, 78.

³ *Reg. Quivil*, 326. Cf. I.5 above.

⁴ Liturgy in Exeter diocese, albeit mostly post-1300, is discussed in C.P. Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 113-50.

⁵ *Reg. Quivil*, 313, 321 (*bis*): presumably the Exeter convents.

⁶ *Reg. Quivil*, 328.

treated well throughout the diocese.¹ Although the bull *Ad fructus uberes* (1281) rendered such episcopal licence theoretically unnecessary, its implementation nonetheless depended in practice on the bishop.²

These are only some of the more salient points of Quinel's statutes. While Quinel did affirm previous trends in pastoral care in the diocese, the sheer volume of pastoral material he put into the hands of parish clergy, and the forceful way that he did so, surely constituted a major departure by itself in the quantity and manner of textual clerical education for the care of Devonian and Cornish souls.

Unfortunately, the extant administrative records of the diocese in the rest of the century are meagre, making it difficult to know how effectively Quinel's precepts were enforced. Not only have Quinel's later records perished: the register of his successor, Thomas de Bitton, bishop 1291-1307, is also lost. Hingeston-Randolph collected some information, but it is scant.³

Still extant, however, is Dean and Chapter Manuscript 3673, containing the records of a series of visitations undertaken in June and July 1301. Extracts from this manuscript, comprising the visitations of fifteen parish churches and three dependent chapels, were printed by Hingeston-Randolph in his edition of the register of Bitton's successor, Walter Stapledon.⁴ These visitations, like those from Salisbury and St. Paul's cathedrals, were made by members of the chapter; all but three of the parish churches were peculiars of the dean and chapter. The twelve were not prebendal churches with cathedral canons as *ex officio* rectors, as Exeter's chapter was otherwise arranged:⁵ they merely fell under capitular jurisdiction. The other three were Winkleigh, Harberton and Upottery (archdeaconries

¹ Exeter II, 5 *in fine*.

² See II.6 above.

³ *Reg. Quivil*, 390-437. See also G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (Exeter, 1861), 52-54.

⁴ *Reg. Stapledon*, 107-409, *passim*; H.M. Whitley, trans., 'Visitations of Devonshire Churches', *RTDA* 42 (1910), 446-74.

⁵ *Fasti Exeter*, xvii.

of Barnstaple, Totnes and Exeter, respectively). Winkleigh owed an annual pension to the chapter;¹ Upottery was appropriated to the dean and chapter to support three chantry-priests in the cathedral;² and Harberton was appropriated to the daily distribution to resident cathedral canons.³ These relationships affected pastoral care. At Harberton and Dawlish, the chancels had recently been rebuilt handsomely by the chapter,⁴ while St. Mary Church and Salcombe Regis had liturgical books given by the chapter.⁵ Also at St. Mary Church, the vicar frequently absented himself for a week or two at a time to Moreton Hampstead for reasons not recorded; in his absence the archdeacon's chaplain sometimes officiated.⁶ These churches should not be supposed to be a representative sampling, yet they provide indispensable examples of the possibilities that could be encountered in parish churches, ranging from Upottery, where a worn-out antiphoner was the only defect noted,⁷ to Clyst Honiton, where the books, ornaments, vestments and chancel were all dilapidated.⁸ Perhaps most striking is the laity's high rate of approval of their clergy, such as William, the vicar of Culmstock, whose only reported fault was delaying too long between matins and mass on feast-days,⁹ a rare insight into lay attendance at parish matins. If by chance these clergy were average for their diocese, the decades of diligent diocesan oversight had provided parish clergy who, while not faultless, mostly satisfied their parishioners' religious aspirations.

B. The Geography of Pastoral Care

¹ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 798; but cf. *EEA* 12, 257.

² *Reg. Bronescombe*, 841.

³ *EEA* 12, 258, 298n.

⁴ *Reg. Stapledon*, 132-33; Whitley, 'Visitations', 452, 457.

⁵ *Reg. Stapledon*, 337-38, 345; W.R. Brownlow, 'A Visitation of St. Mary Church in A.D. 1301', *RTDA* 25 (1893), 431-48; Whitley, 'Visitations', 455, 459.

⁶ Presumably the archdeacon of Exeter, as St. Mary Church was surrounded by that archdeaconry.

⁷ *Reg. Stapledon*, 396-97; Whitley, 'Visitations', 458.

⁸ *Reg. Stapledon*, 107; Whitley, 'Visitations', 461.

⁹ *Reg. Stapledon*, 130-31; Whitley, 'Visitations', 462.

Exeter diocese, predominantly coterminous with the counties of Devon and Cornwall, had around 583 parishes¹ and four archdeaconries: Devon comprised those of Exeter, Totnes and Barnstaple, while that of Cornwall covered its eponymous county. Barlow suggests that the distribution of rural deaneries, ‘nine in Exeter, six in Barnstaple, nine in Totnes, and seven in Cornwall ... probably fairly represent the density of settlement in the several areas.’² Cornwall thus had 22.6% of the deaneries; with 174 parishes it had 30% of those in the diocese;³ and Cornwall covered 34.25% of the land in diocese.⁴ Cornish parishes were thus, on average, 22.4% larger than those in Devon, suggesting that the average Cornishman found his parish church slightly less accessible, but otherwise there was no obvious disparity between the counties in parochial provision.

The greater disparities in rural parish size, and thus convenience of access, were for reasons of geology and of history. In the latter case, ‘the great [Devon] minster parishes of Crediton, Hartland, Plympton and Tiverton continued to include thousands of acres’.⁵ Excluding Tiverton, on which I have been unable to find acreage, Hartland was the largest of these, covering ‘17,900 acres occupying the peninsula in the extreme NW. corner of Devon.’⁶ The secular collegiate church was refounded as an Arroasian house in the 1160s, leaving the vast territory to a parish church.⁷ Plympton, just east of Plymouth, covered over 10,000 acres and contained both an early collegiate minster and an Augustinian priory which claimed certain rights of appointment therein.⁸ Crediton, just benorth Exeter,

¹ C. Holdsworth, ‘From 1050 to 1307’, in N.I. Orme, ed., *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), 23-52, at 34.

² *EEA* 11, xxx.

³ N.I. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000), 46-49.

⁴ According to *Survey Atlas*, 13, the size of the ‘ancient county’ of Cornwall was 868,220 statute acres, and the ‘ancient county’ of Devon 1,667,154 statute acres. This comparison discounts Thorncombe (Dorset), a detached parish of Exeter diocese, and Stockland (Devon), a detached parish of Salisbury diocese, on the premise that they are of similar size.

⁵ Holdsworth, ‘1050 to 1307’, 29.

⁶ W.G. Hoskins, *Devon* (London, 1954), 405.

⁷ Hoskins, *Devon*, 406; *MRH*, 426, 158. The taxation of 1291 showed its rectory to be worth £26 13s 4d, a large sum: *Reg. Quivil*, 463.

⁸ *EEA* 11, 168; Hoskins, *Devon*, 462; *Archid. Acta*, 44.

exceeded 12,000 acres, supporting a collegiate church with twelve (usually absent) canons and their respective dozen vicars-choral, one of whom acted as parochial vicar. As the former cathedral, it remained an episcopal peculiar.¹ Each of these four was the head church of a rural deanery. The taxation of 1291 records no chapels-of-ease for them, but Crediton had at least two by 1254 and Hartland had several by 1261, so this is not evidence of their absence.² Those attending the minster churches found 'a large church building and a more elaborate worship, [and] it brought to the town some learned and literate clerics'.³

The geological disparity was generally between moorland and the rest of the diocese. Many of the largest parishes were situated on the comparatively barren moors, where a larger area would be needed to support a parish church. The only recorded complaint of geographical inaccessibility in the thirteenth century comes from Devon, where the inhabitants of the hamlets of Babeny and Pizwell on Dartmoor had to travel 'eight miles in fine weather and fifteen by a roundabout journey in times of storms', as an enquiry confirmed, to reach their parish church of Lydford, nor could they afford to build a chapel-of-ease.⁴ Bishop Bronescombe therefore granted them permission in 1260 to attend Widdecombe church instead, except for an annual visit and oblation to Lydford on the feast of St. Petrock, the Cornish saint to which it was dedicated.⁵ For people making their living in such comparatively remote locales without chapels-of-ease – in this case, probably by a mixture of animal husbandry and tin mining⁶ – those aspects of pastoral care that required ready access to the parish church were not as adequately provided. As Lydford parish covered some 50,000 acres (78 square miles), much of it rough

¹ Hoskins, *Devon*, 378; *MRH*, 424; N.I. Orme, 'The Church in Crediton', in T. Reuter, ed., *The Greatest Englishman* (Exeter, 1980), 95-131.

² *Reg. Quivil*, 454, 457, 463, 466; Orme, 'Crediton', 119; *Reg. Bronescombe*, 335.

³ Orme, 'Crediton', 126.

⁴ *Reg. Bronescombe*, 292.

⁵ Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, 55.

⁶ Judging by local topography. M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), 17-18.

moorland,¹ the inhabitants of other such hamlets probably experienced similar problems. It is to Bronescombe's credit that he arranged such a fair compromise, favouring pastoral necessity without ignoring parochial rights. The terms of his decision also remind us of the importance of the saints' cults of parish churches in the geography of devotion, a question which has been explored at length for Exeter diocese by Orme.²

The city of Exeter itself had marked pastoral contrasts not only with the countryside, as might be expected, but also with other cathedral cities. Although the *Breve Chronicon Exoniense* records that 'the boundaries of the parishes of the city of Exeter were fixed' in 1222,³ the churches remained, technically, mere chapels, for none had its own cemetery: all burials went to the cathedral graveyard, except occasional burials in religious houses, and in either case the first funeral mass was obligatorily celebrated in the cathedral.⁴ This is why thirteenth-century records refer to them as *cappellae* rather than *ecclesiae*.⁵

The cathedral's burial monopoly affected lay relationships to the cathedral, including pastoral care in the form of prayers for the dead. Though Adam de Collecote simply bequeathed 'his body to holy burial' in 1269, his son Henry, who died in 1294, bequeathed 'my body to be buried in the cemetery of the Blessed Peter of Exeter, in the place where my father and mother rest.'⁶ Walter Gervas, a layman who died around 1258, similarly wished to be buried next to his father in the cathedral cemetery, 'wherever it shall happen for me to die, and with

¹ Hoskins, *Devon*, 427.

² Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; N.I. Orme, *English Church Dedications, with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter, 1996).

³ 'Breve Chronicon', xxi: 'limitate sunt parochie civitatis Exonie.' This seems to suggest that boundaries were fixed for looser pre-existing 'parishes', perhaps to iron out financial inequalities: even afterwards, some parishes were barely solvent (seven in 1291 were reported as too poor to be taxed, and one *vix sufficit ad sustentacionem unius capellani*) (*Reg. Quivil*, 451).

⁴ Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 67.

⁵ EEA 12, 190; *Reg. Bronescombe*, 818; *Reg. Quivil*, 451.

⁶ D. Lepine and N.I. Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003), 143, 147; *Reg. Quivil*, 435-36.

my body I bequeath my horse by the name of “Proved Friend”.¹ Exeter’s urban churches, having no churchyards, had little room for expansion and rebuilding, so they tended to be cramped into odd shapes not always ideal for liturgical celebration.²

The profile of the liturgy of the cathedral was raised by contrast. Even by the end of the thirteenth century, the cathedral had ‘no relic so important and unique as to make Exeter a place of particular pilgrimage’.³ Sekules suggests that the bishops from the late thirteenth century onwards, possibly beginning with Quinel, moved to establish the episcopate itself as taking the place of a saint’s shrine with regard to commanding respect, and the liturgy of the canons and choir as a centre of liturgical devotion comparable to a saint’s cultus.⁴ Graves adds that the liturgy and its uniquely spectacular furnishings were partly visible from the north and south choir aisles, to which the laity were admitted.⁵ Moreover, according to the *Ordinale Exon.*, the earliest extant revision of the Exeter Cathedral liturgy, the laity were to be asperged with holy water and given a sermon before high mass from Advent to Septuagesima.⁶ While the *Ordinale* dates to 1337, Bishop Grandisson, who compiled it, was collating existing Exeter customs and Sarum use: earlier distinctives include the raising of the feast of Gabriel the Archangel to a level on par with Christmas and Easter, and an unusually sophisticated use of music in liturgy, both arising from Bronescombe’s initiatives.⁷ Similarly, although little is known about the thirteenth-century art and architecture of the choir, the programme that culminated in the early fourteenth century was

¹ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 140.

² Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 67.

³ V. Sekules, ‘The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral’, in F. Kelly, ed., *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (Oxford, 1991), 172-79, at 174. There were other sites of pilgrimage in the diocese, however; see N.I. Orme, ‘Indulgences in the Diocese of Exeter, 1100-1536’, *RTDA* 120 (1988), 15-32, and *idem*, ‘Indulgences in Medieval Cornwall’, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* n.s. 2 (1992), 149-70.

⁴ Sekules, ‘Liturgical Furnishings’.

⁵ Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 49-55.

⁶ Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 71; *Ordinale Exon.* I, 293-94.

⁷ Sekules, ‘Liturgical Furnishings’, 178. Also doubtless related was Bronescombe’s 1277 injunction that a vicar choral must be replaced within thirty days of his death or resignation: Orme, ‘Medieval Clergy I’, 83.

likely conceived and begun before 1300, and the building processes may have made the choir liturgy temporarily more visible due to the rebuilding of screens and, perhaps, temporary relocation of the canons and choir when scaffolding and building processes made coexistence untenable.

The liturgy of Exeter Cathedral may have been effectively exported around the diocese through an export of personnel. The dean and chapter held the advowsons of many parish churches in the diocese; it also had a large body of literate clergy, the vicars choral and various chaplains, who in later centuries formed a drawing-pool for presenting to such benefices.¹ This was likely the case in the thirteenth century as well: we merely lack lists of minor cathedral clergy to be sure. This pattern may have been solidified by Bronescombe's injunction in 1270 that the dean and chapter must present him with a suitable candidate within one month of the vacancy of any church in their gift:² subtracting the time for news to reach them and for them to contact the bishop, they would need to keep qualified men ready at all times, and few would be handier or more thoroughly vetted than the minor clergy. Quinel attempted in 1281 to end the practice of vicars choral serving churches, yet in 1284 we find a vicar choral still doubling as vicar of Heavitree, a parish just east of Exeter and under capitular jurisdiction; he repeated his injunction in 1291, explicitly referring to city churches.³ Such a pattern may have occurred under his predecessors as well. While many aspects of the Use of Exeter could not reasonably be effected in parochial churches, many others could, such as the inserted prayers from Quinel's register or the promotion of certain feasts such as that of Gabriel the Archangel. The diffusion of minor cathedral clergy around the diocese would result in greater liturgical standardisation and, presumably, complexity.

¹ N.I. Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1548* (Exeter, 1980), xix.

² *Reg. Bronescombe*, 819.

³ Orme, 'Medieval Clergy I', 83-84.

Parish churches with special relationships to the chapter or bishop, however, were not evenly distributed. The map at the end of this chapter shows a few clusters of churches, mostly episcopal peculiars, in Cornwall, and a scattering in eastern Devon: there is a north-south corridor twenty miles wide separating the two groups. The parishes visited in 1301 were all in eastern Devon. The effects of such relationships are not now clear, but their geographical arrangement is.

Education in the cathedral city could have a similar effect to the presentation of minor clergy to benefices. The cathedral's song-school is first mentioned in 1175, taught by Master Raymund, a cathedral clerk.¹ Through most of the thirteenth century, the precentor would have had nominal oversight, but in 1276, Elias de Cyrencestre, a vicar-choral, was made the first formal succentor (precentor's deputy), with charge of the choristers' musical education:² presumably this related to the increasing complexity of liturgical music at that time. Though some of the choristers became secondaries (minor clerks with changed voices, but too young to become priests) and lifelong vicars choral, others may have taken their education and liturgical familiarity in other directions leading them ultimately to parish altars. Grammar and theology seem both to have been taught by 1200.³ We have already met Laurence, vicar of South Tawton, licensed to come to Exeter to study in Sacred Scripture in 1283;⁴ a less detailed licence was given in the same year to the rector of Sydenham Damarel, just on the Devon side of the Cornish border, to study '*in sacra pagina*' at Exeter for a year.⁵ These coincide with Quinel's arrangement in that same year establishing that henceforth all Chancellors should teach theology or canon law in Exeter.⁶ Moreover, visiting student clergy may have been more welcome than the laity to view and participate in the cathedral liturgies, though there are no obvious arrangements for

¹ N.I. Orme, *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548* (Exeter, 1976), 45.

² Orme, *Education in the West*, 43; Orme, *Minor Clergy*, 11, 13; *Reg. Bronescombe*, 1154.

³ Orme, *Education in the West*, 52.

⁴ See above; and *Reg. Quivil*, 375.

⁵ *Reg. Quivil*, 375.

⁶ Orme, *Education in the West*, 52-53.

this. Clergy closer to or in the town could have resorted to the schools there much more readily without licences of non-residence, thus going unrecorded.

Exeter was not the only place of study, however. A school is mentioned in Plympton, Devon, in 1263, and *circa* 1276 the collegiate church of Penryn in Cornwall had choirboys and clerks (probably secondaries) in addition to its canons and vicars choral.¹ It is very likely that other schools or liturgical training centres existed but mention has not survived.

Thus far we have considered predominantly the secular clergy, but the friars had a role to play as well. The Dominicans had settled in the cathedral city by 1232, the Franciscans by 1240.² There were thirty-four Franciscans and thirty-six Dominicans in 1297.³ Of the nine thirteenth-century Exeter wills printed by Lepine and Orme, seven record bequests to the friars of Exeter.⁴ Two of these gave unevenly: in 1263 the archdeacon of Totnes left more to the Franciscans than the Dominicans,⁵ and in 1290 a layman left a substantial amount to the Franciscans, including his body to be buried, but nothing to the Dominicans.⁶ The other five, including a cathedral canon in 1244, laymen in 1258, 1267 and 1294, and a cathedral vicar choral in 1296, all left equal amounts to both convents.⁷ When Quinel allowed non-residence for study but required payments to friars along with the parish poor, in each case the amounts given were equal.⁸ In 1266, Roger de Thoriz, archdeacon of Exeter, left fourteen biblical and theological volumes – including part

¹ Orme, *Education in the West*, 103, 167.

² *EEFP*, 106-07; *MRH*, 216, 225.

³ A.G. Little and R.C. Easterling, *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter* (Exeter, 1927), 22; *MRH*, 216.

⁴ D. Lepine and N.I. Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003), 139-54. Of the remaining two, one (Rosamund Kymmyng) was a parishioner of Topsham, five miles south of Exeter; the other (Bartholomew Pinchun) gave single-mindedly to the Hospital of St. John in 1244, when the Exeter friars were new.

⁵ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 142-43.

⁶ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 146.

⁷ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 140-51.

⁸ *Reg. Quivil*, 313, 321 (*bis*).

of the Sentences commentary of Alexander of Hales OFM, the Dominican biblical concordance and Hugh of St.-Cher OP's postills on the Psalms – to the use of the Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter.¹ This suggests some sort of parity, whether in numbers, the local population's respect, or both.

Exeter was at the centre of a network of roads that reached within twenty miles of every part of the diocese, and within ten miles of most of it.² In the 1301 visitations, the parishioners of Colyton testified that

their vicar is an honest man, and he preaches to them so far as he knows, but not sufficiently in their eyes. They also say that his predecessors were accustomed to call friars to instruct them on the salvation of [their] souls; but he does not trouble to do so, and if they happen to come by he does not receive them ... whence they request that he be corrected.³

Colyton is twenty miles east of Exeter along the road to Dorchester, now the A35.⁴ The road made traverse for the friars easy enough that they seem to have been common in Colyton, even just passing through. Their more advanced preaching techniques seem to have raised the parishioners' homiletic expectations: perhaps their vicar's sermons and catechesis would have been acceptable decades before. Their vicar, William, might not be blamed too harshly if he considered friars a disruptive and undermining influence.

Friars of both orders could thus easily reach most locales, though some of the more remote moors and headlands may have been less frequently visited. A greater barrier would be linguistic. There is no *a priori* reason to doubt a high degree of multilingualism among people living along a linguistic frontier such as central Cornwall, but focused recruitment and careful deployment would be required to

¹ *Reg. Bronescombe* III, pp. 58-59; Little and Easterling, *Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter*, 59; K.W. Humphries, ed., *The Friars' Libraries* (London, 1990), 210-12.

² See map following this chapter.

³ 'Vicarius eorum, probus homo est, et predicat eis quatenus novit, set non sufficienter, ut eis videtur. Dicunt, eciam, quod predecessores eius consueverunt vocare Fratres ad instruendum eos super salutem anime; set iste non curat de eis, et si a casu venerint non recepit eos ... Unde petunt quod corripiatur.' *Reg. Stapledon*, 111.

⁴ See map following this chapter; *AA Atlas*, map 6.

reach Cornishmen more effectively. This may be why the Dominicans settled at Truro by 1259 and the Franciscans at Bodmin by 1260.¹ The port-town of Plymouth was settled by Carmelites, 1289 x 1296, the fifth and last friary of the century.² By 1300, only North Devon was particularly remote from mendicant visitation, yet an Exeter Dominican 'was accused of openly disregarding an interdict which had been laid on the parish of Tawstock before 1302, and encouraging the secular priests to do likewise.'³ Tawstock is just south of Barnstaple, over forty miles northwest of Exeter by a main road;⁴ one could scarcely go further from a thirteenth-century friary in the diocese. This Friar Hamelyn OP may have been disruptive to ecclesiastical discipline, but he and the parish clergy could hardly have been guilty of disregarding an interdict without exercising pastoral office.

¹ *MRH*, 219, 223.

² *MRH*, 236.

³ Little and Easterling, *Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter*, 40.

⁴ The road running north-west from Exeter on the map following this chapter; mileage from *AA Atlas*, map 5 (A377).

III.5: The Province of York

The Province of York in 1200 comprised not three dioceses, as is often stated, but four: York, Durham, Carlisle, and the Scottish diocese of Whithorn and Galloway. In the thirteenth century, York Province had ties to the Scottish Church that, while different from its ties to Canterbury, were also significant.¹ Indeed, until 1192, York had claimed – albeit with little effect – primacy over the whole Scottish Church, which did not have its own primate until 1472.² In the thirteenth century, although the claim of Yorkist primacy had been surrendered, the border was fluid and frequently crossed, and cross-border intercourse – for instance, local trade, travelling craftsmen, land ownership and quite possibly the transfers of parish clergy – was regular and steady.³

While the archbishop of Canterbury was considered to have some seniority over the archbishop of York – an ambiguous position that led to repeated conflict – his writ did not run in the Northern Province.⁴ When Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, held his synod at York in 1195, he did so in his capacity as papal legate: his archiepiscopate was coincidental.⁵ The provincial councils and statutes discussed above in the introduction to Canterbury Province had no direct effect in these dioceses under separate jurisdiction, though some had indirect effect by inspiring northern bishops to follow certain paths in their administration or to include certain regulations in their diocesan statutes. In contrast to Canterbury Province, the Northern Province issued not one known set of provincial statutes in the thirteenth century, and indeed had fewer provincial convocations, though it did participate in pan-English councils. Of these, only the legatine councils of Otto (1237) and

¹ For some aspects of the relations between the Provinces of York and Scotland, see D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000).

² *EEA* 20, liv-lviii; *EEA* 27, lxxxvi-xci, cxxxviii-cxxxix.

³ See III.6 below.

⁴ R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana* (Toronto, 1989), 69-105.

⁵ *C&S* I, 1042.

Ottobuono (1268) issued canons. These canons, discussed in the introduction to Canterbury Province above (III.1), were equally binding in York.

Because of its small size, relationships between the archbishop of York and his suffragans did not require the elaborate machinery that evolved in Canterbury Province.¹ In 1284, for example, the archbishop, preparing to go abroad, summoned the bishop of Carlisle to meet with him to discuss many matters (*super plurimis que incumbunt*), but the letter is no more specific about what these issues were.² Because there were no provincial statutes during the century and only one diocese in the province is being investigated here, the leadership of the archbishops of York will be considered within the chapter on Carlisle diocese and only insofar as it visibly touched upon that diocese's governance, which was apparently minimally. There must have been much more interaction than we will find in the documentary record, so the paucity of mentions need not indicate a loose hand on the Province's tiller.

¹ R.E. Rodes, jr., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 1977), 108-09.

² *Reg. Wickwane*, 314.

III.6: The Diocese of Carlisle

A. Diocesan Administration and the Care of Souls

Carlisle diocese, covering the northern parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, was the youngest and poorest of the dioceses of England in the thirteenth century. Carved off from the diocese of Glasgow, it received in 1133 its first bishop, Aethelwulf, who died in May 1156 or 1157. Further complicating cross-border relations, the diocese was under the Scottish crown's control from 1136 to 1157.¹ When Aethelwulf died, no successor was chosen and the see was vacant for more than four decades. Attempts to fill it were stymied by the extreme poverty of the see.² According to Cheney, the prior of the Augustinian chapter of the cathedral managed ecclesiastical affairs, while the temporalities were in the hands of the Crown, as was typically the case between episcopates.³ The diocese's sole archdeacon occurs as *custos* of the bishopric in the 1190s,⁴ presumably receiving the episcopal income on the Crown's behalf as well as fulfilling a necessarily enhanced archidiaconal role. It is uncertain how episcopal functions, such as ordination, confirmation, absolution in cases reserved to bishops, and the consecration of churches, were carried out between 1157 and 1198.⁵ Perhaps ministry was sought from the bishop of Glasgow, though it is more likely that the archbishop of York handled matters personally or sent one of his suffragans, the bishops of Durham and of Whithorn.⁶

Only one set of statutes was issued for the diocese in the thirteenth century. Few *magistri* wore its mitre; many of its bishops were royal administrators.⁷ By the end of the century, it only had four

¹ *Fasti Monastic*, 19; J. Cannon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, 1997), 168.

² Summerson, *Carlisle*, 70-72.

³ Cheney, *Innocent III*, 74.

⁴ *Archid. Acta*, 8-10.

⁵ For possible duties of a suffragan bishop, see L.A.S. Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', *Northern History* 37 (2000), 49-60, at page 50.

⁶ Bishops of Whithorn often acted as assisting suffragans in York diocese in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops', 56. If the archbishops took charge of episcopal activity in Carlisle at this time, it is likely that they would use this same resource.

⁷ *Bishops and Reform*, 185-99, and below.

friaries, one of each order; and those of the two smaller orders did not appear before 1280. From a pastoral standpoint, it would appear that Carlisle was a dismal backwater, not so much ministered to as administered, with little to propel it from twelfth-century rural parochial conservatism to the new Scholastic ideas making headway elsewhere in England. Was pastoral care in Carlisle diocese therefore poor? Perhaps we shall discover that it was, though we shall not have wasted time in looking more deeply.

From 1198 to 1214, some episcopal functions were provided by Bernard, exiled archbishop of Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik).¹ Bernard remained in Carlisle during the interdict, making it the only diocese in England that consistently had its bishop present during the period, though he could not perform religious rites and Cheney supposed that Bernard ‘counted for nothing’.² Carlisle’s proximity and historic ties to Scotland would have made it easy to issue letters dimissory, permitting new rectors and vicars to cross the border to be ordained.³ Carlisle diocese thus could have come out of the interdict somewhat ahead of many others in England. Bernard’s *acta* include the ordinations of several perpetual vicarages.⁴ Whatever gains might have been made, however, were probably offset by four years of ecclesiastical chaos following Bernard’s death. At the Scottish invasion in 1216-1217, Carlisle was taken and the chapter welcomed the conquerors with open arms, electing a Scottish bishop. The election was quashed by the legate Guala, but the event testifies to the residual strength of cross-border sympathies. The whole chapter was punitively expelled, and the new chapter elected the Cistercian Hugh of Beaulieu in 1218, ‘obviously ... chosen for his administrative

¹ On Bernard, see Cheney, *Innocent III*, 73-74; *EEA* 30, xxxvii-xxxviii; *Fasti* Monastic, 19.

² Cheney, *Innocent III*, 315.

³ The ‘Synodal Statutes for an English Diocese’ of 1222 x 1225 prohibit admitting clergy ordained ‘in Ireland, Wales, or especially Scotland’ without adequate documentation: *C&S* II, 147. This suggests that crossing borders for ordination, or after ordination, was common; and under the interdict orders could not be acquired in any other way.

⁴ *EEA* 30, 14, 15, 18, 20; cf. 23, 33.

abilities rather than for his spiritual qualities.¹ Like Bernard, Hugh ordained vicarages,² but few were specifically perpetual. Another of Bishop Hugh's actions was to confirm the position of underage sons of clergy who had inherited their fathers' benefices, contrary to the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council.³ The original *actum* is lost and is only known because of a papal letter censuring the policy. This may reveal less about the bishop's wishes than the entrenched conservatism he found in his diocese.⁴ Adam, rector of Crosthwaite, who became bishop Hugh's official in 1220, left behind a wife and three children when he died around 1250; another child, who predeceased him and was probably the eldest, was old enough to witness a charter with his father before 1214.⁵ In the 1220s, the bishop of Lincoln could deal with recidivist clerical incontinence as an occasional offence, while in Carlisle the offspring of such liaisons seemingly formed an interest group powerful enough to persuade the bishop to flout recently-promulgated canon law. It also likely reflects the weakness of Hugh's position as only the second bishop in a diocese that learned to live without one, only elected moreover by a chapter specially imported for the purpose. Given these limitations, perhaps it was good for the strength of episcopacy in Carlisle that he held the see for less than five years, dying in June 1223.

Walter Mauclerc, like Hugh a man with strong royal connections, was consecrated bishop of Carlisle less than a year later.⁶ He continued to participate heavily in government and was often out of his diocese, a problem doubtless compounded by its remoteness. He can have had little to do with the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican houses in his cathedral city in 1233, as he

¹ *Fasti Monastic*, 20; *EEA* 30, xxxvii-xxxix; Summerson, *Carlisle*, 97-101; J. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III* (Cambridge, 1984), 60.

² *EEA* 30, 45, perpetual; and e.g. 43, 48, 62, not perpetual.

³ *EEA* 30, 42; *CPL*, 91.

⁴ Summerson, *Carlisle*, 99. On the issue in general, see Cheney, *Innocent III*, 407; *idem*, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1955), 14-15, 137-38.

⁵ W.G. Collingwood, 'Thirteenth-Century Keswick', *TCWAAS* n.s. 21 (1921), 159-73, at 161-63; *EEA* 30, 18, 19.

⁶ *EEA* 30, xxxix-xl; Summerson, *Carlisle*, 101.

was far from his see in that year and facing major political problems, but the fact that he resigned his mitre in 1246 to become an Oxford Dominican testifies to some degree of piety and zeal that may have affected his episcopal governance in the preceding years, although his extant *acta* are not of the sort that could show it.¹ His successor, Silvester of Everton, bishop from 1246 to 1254, was likewise a royal clerk and had been *de facto* chancellor; little can be said of his episcopate except that in three cases he re-ordained vicarages because the original emoluments had been too small.² He also encouraged pilgrimage to Durham by granting an indulgence of forty days' enjoined penance to those who visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert and gave offerings.³

Silvester was eventually succeeded by Robert de Chaury in 1257.⁴ Though he was yet another bishop of Carlisle with royal connections, 'he appears to have exercised an effective pastoral care over his diocese.'⁵ Because of the survival of his statutes, the only ones known to have been issued in thirteenth-century Carlisle, more can be learned about his direction of pastoral care than about all of the other thirteenth-century bishops of Carlisle combined.

Bishop Robert's statutes date from 1258 x 1259.⁶ These were a reissue with a few amendments of the statutes of Bishop William Bitton of Bath and Wells, originally issued by him probably in 1258;⁷ Bitton, along with the bishop of Salisbury, consecrated Robert de Chaury in 1258,⁸ and the new bishop may have sought Bitton's

¹ *Lan. Chron.*, 42-43; N. Vincent, 'Mauclerk, Walter (d. 1248)', *ODNB*; *EEFP*, 104-05.

² *EEA* 30, xli; 113, 114, 119.

³ *EEA* 30, 78.

⁴ *Fasti Monastic*, 20.

⁵ *EEA* 30, xli-xlii

⁶ *C&S* II, 626-30; C.R. Cheney, 'The Medieval Statutes of the Diocese of Carlisle', *EHR* 62 (1947), 52-57.

⁷ Because they are so close to the Wells statutes, Powicke and Cheney did not print them *in extenso* in *C&S* II, but only the variations from Wells (pp. 586-626, cited below as 'Wells' with chapter numbers as in *C&S* II). D.M. Smith has provided a fresh edition of the Carlisle statutes in *EEA* 30, pp. 169-201. These are cited below as 'Carlisle' with the chapter numbers as in Smith, which differ from the Wells sequence.

⁸ *C&S* II, 586.

statutes at this time to give him a framework for diocesan governance. Because they originated in the Province of Canterbury, the statutes were shaped by provincial legislation which did not apply in the Northern Province, but with the adoption of the same Bath and Wells series at York in 1259,¹ half of the Northern Province had incorporated legislation originally issued by archbishops of Canterbury: explicit citation is made in them of the Council of Oxford.²

Bitton's statutes were extensive, covering much of the same ground as other sets of statutes of the period; most of its important provisions came from earlier statutes and many were later adopted in Exeter II. Each sacrament was given a homiletic chapter; that on confirmation was the longest to date.³ In the chapter on the mass, the ringing of a bell was enjoined at the consecration, and at the Lord's Prayer two clerics, or laymen in the absence of clerics, were to bring extra candles to the top step of the altar. To ensure a supply of candles for this purpose, ten days' enjoined penance was relaxed for each donor, a clever way of directing penances towards the greater common spiritual good of the parish. Similarly, while many other statutes had enjoined that the host being borne to the sick should be accompanied by a lantern and bell and that the laity should reverence its passing in the way, Bitton relaxed seven days' penance to those who bent the knee when the procession passed by.⁴ The necessary ornaments and books for the liturgy were enumerated; for Carlisle, the books were to be of the use of Carlisle, York or Salisbury, and the practice of using cast-off service books from monasteries, which the statute suggests was common, was forbidden.⁵

Confessors were to be appointed to shrive parish clergy, and episcopal penitentiaries, who might also have dealt with lay cases, were mentioned.⁶ We have seen above that some bishops considered

¹ *C&S* II, 658-59.

² Carlisle, 1, 6, 15.

³ Carlisle, 3; Wells, 3.

⁴ Carlisle, 4; Wells, 5.

⁵ Carlisle, 9.

⁶ Carlisle, 6; Wells, 7.

Canon 21 of Lateran IV, requiring annual confession, to be inadequate, recommending thrice per year instead; the Wells/York/Carlisle statutes stand alone in commending four times per year, though it is not clear when the fourth season was supposed to be.¹ The statutes also stipulated

that Friars Preachers and Minors going about parishes, in and out of Lent, shall be permitted to hear the confessions of the faithful and to enjoin penances on those who wish to confess to them, first seeking licence from their own [parish] priests and paying the accustomed and owed oblations to their parish churches. And since their preaching and holiness of life are known to produce considerable fruit in the church of God, we command that they should be admitted with honour and reverence wherever they should go in our diocese.²

The parish clergy were also given direction in hearing confessions, some derived ultimately from Richard Poore's statutes but probably via Exeter I.³ Borrowing from other sources, the statutes added that when hearing the confession of a sick person unlikely to recover, he should be commended to divine mercy; he should be told what his owed penance would be if he recovered, so that if he should escape hell, his penance could be served in purgatory.⁴ Presumably the priest would explain this to the moribund penitent: it was not only friars who taught laypeople about purgatory. The statutes also gave unprecedented weight to extreme unction, threatening any priest with suspension if one of his flock died without its benefit through the priest's negligence.⁵ Because of the difficulties of transporting the deceased, all chapels-of-ease more than two or three miles distant from the mother church were to receive their own graveyards, though the right of the parish church to customary oblations was

¹ Carlisle, 5; Wells, 6.

² '...statuimus ut fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus in Quadragesima et extra parochias transeuntibus fidelium confessiones audire liceat penitentiasque iniungere eis qui sibi voluerint confiteri, a propriis sacerdotibus prius licentia requisita et ecclesie sue parochiali oblationibus consuetis et debitis persolutis. Et quoniam eorum predicatio et vite sanctitatis qui fructum non modicum in ecclesia Dei produxisse noscuntur, precipimus ut ubicumque in nostro episcopatu advenerint cum honore et reverentia admittantur.' Carlisle, 6; cf. Wells, 6.

³ See III.2 and III.4 above.

⁴ Carlisle, 5; Wells, 6.

⁵ Carlisle, 7; Wells, 8.

safeguarded.¹ The bishop explained that he would be circulating through the diocese to dedicate the new cemeteries; he also required all churches to be properly dedicated² and the anniversaries of their dedications to be observed by all parishioners making offerings just as at Christmas.³

Oversight of the parish clergy included directions to the archdeacon of Carlisle regarding visitations, not only in forbidding abuses but also in ensuring that the liturgy was performed properly. The terms of the latter could only be fulfilled properly by the visitor by observing the services, which might involve a corrective discussion afterwards. Each church was also to have a correct copy of the canon of the mass according to York or Salisbury use.⁴ The archdeacon and episcopal official were ordered to examine incumbent vicars and rectors on their literacy, knowledge, and ability to preach catechetically, especially regarding the Decalogue, seven sins, seven sacraments, and Athanasian, Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. Those badly ignorant were to be denounced to the bishop.⁵ To provide positive support for learning, those churches near (*vicine*) schools were to support a clerk as holy-water bearer, enabling him to study when his services were not required (presumably only on Sundays and feast-days).⁶ Rural chapters were to be called only in convenient places four times a year, lasting only one day and supervised by the archdeacon or official, not the rural dean; priests from remoter areas were not to be detained afterwards, in case emergency pastoral care, such as to the dying, was required in their parishes.⁷ Vicars and serving rectors were required under penalty of deprivation to reside

¹ Carlisle, 13; Wells, 21.

² Carlisle, 1; Wells, prologue.

³ Carlisle, 10; Wells, 17, 18.

⁴ Carlisle, 38.

⁵ Carlisle, 27; Wells, 43.

⁶ Carlisle, 19; Wells, 33. Cf. Exeter II, 29 (*C&S* II, 1026-27), which replaced the vague '*vicine*' with a radius of ten miles.

⁷ Carlisle, 40, where '*official*' seems to mean the bishop's official; cf. Wells, 57, which clearly indicates the archdeacons' officials. However, Carlisle, 33 does mention the archdeacon's official, so the post existed.

and be sufficiently ordained.¹ As in Exeter, no priest was to undertake care of souls in the first year of his priesthood, unless the holding of a vicarage or rectory required it.²

An addition to the Wells statutes mandated observing the two feasts of St. Cuthbert.³ It is not certain that this was part of the original Carlisle series,⁴ but Cuthbert was certainly popular in thirteenth-century Carlisle. A list of church dedications in the diocese compiled over eighty years ago showed Saints Michael and Cuthbert tied for most popular church dedicatee in the Middle Ages, with eleven parish churches apiece. Modern scholarship could doubtless improve this list, but for now the addition of a number of chapels and a well dedicated to Cuthbert tip the balance towards him as the diocese's most popular saint.⁵ Bishop Silvester's indulgence for pilgrims to Durham merely confirmed a long association with Cuthbert.

With the election of Ralph de Ireton as bishop in December 1278 the Cathedral Priory chose a fellow northerner and Augustinian Canon, the Prior of Guisborough (North Yorkshire); a new and lasting direction was thus taken in Carlisle's episcopacy, for most of its bishops were Augustinians for the next century.⁶ Ralph paid at least two visits to Guisborough during his episcopate, on one occasion granting them the right to institute one of their canons as vicar of their appropriated parish church of Bridekirk, at the western end of the diocese.⁷ This practice was common in Carlisle diocese, and will be discussed further below.

¹ Carlisle, 29-30; Wells, 44-45.

² Carlisle, 31; Wells, 46.

³ Carlisle, 58; *C&S* II, 627-28.

⁴ *EEA* 30, p. 169.

⁵ T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *TCWAAS* n.s. 25 (1925), 1-27; and as digested for medieval parochial dedications by N. Orme, *English Church Dedications* (Exeter, 1996), 41. See also V. Tudor, 'St. Cuthbert and Cumbria', *TCWAAS* n.s. 84 (1984), 67-77.

⁶ *Fasti Monastic*, 21; John le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541 VI: Northern Province*, ed. B. Jones (London, 1963), 97-98; *EEA* 30, xlii-xliii.

⁷ *EEA* 30, 191, 203. In 1307, a secular vicar resigned, mentioning another secular as his predecessor, and was replaced by one of the canons of Guisborough, but it is conceivable that a canon served before them. *Reg. Halton* I, 284.

Ireton was criticised for his frequent visitations by one of the authors of the Lanercost Chronicle, though it is unclear whether this included parish churches.¹ It certainly included Lanercost Priory itself, which he visited in 1281.² He held at least one diocesan synod, in 1283, and is known to have kept a register which disappeared around 1600.³ He was pressed into service in 1291 as the collector of the crusading tenth in Scotland, reflecting both his perceived abilities and his familiarity with northern Britain.⁴

Ireton died the next year and was succeeded by John de Halton, who as cellarer of Carlisle was another northern Augustinian Canon.⁵ He was also an Oxford alumnus, and his administrative abilities and local knowledge may be judged by Edward I's immediately appointing him Ireton's successor as collector of the papal tenths in Scotland, many records of which are in his episcopal register, the earliest to survive from Carlisle. Although he was often engaged in Anglo-Scottish business, much of it did not take him far from his diocese. An episcopal visitation of the deanery of Westmorland in 1302 is mentioned in passing in his register, and the small size of his diocese would have made further regular visitations plausible even with his other responsibilities.⁶ His register includes Boniface VIII's bull *Super cathedram*⁷ and shows that he ordained with some frequency and caused ordination lists to be kept (showing regular ordinations of friars), but little else can be learned of his pastoral work from it. He died in 1324.

B. The Geography of Pastoral Care

¹ *Lan. Chron.*, 102.

² *Lan. Chron.*, 106.

³ *EEA* 30, p. 201; H. Summerson, 'Irton [Ireton], Ralph of (d. 1292)', *ODNB*.

⁴ Summerson, 'Irton, Ralph'.

⁵ This paragraph is based on *Fasti Monastic*, 21; T.F. Tout's introduction to *Reg. Halton* I, i-xliii; M.J. Kennedy, 'John Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, 1292-1324', *TCWAAS* n.s. 73 (1973), 94-110; H. Summerson, 'Halton [Halghton], John (d. 1324)', *ODNB*.

⁶ *Reg. Halton* I, 197.

⁷ *Reg. Halton* I, 124-28.

Carlisle diocese was more rural than Exeter, Lincoln, and indeed most other English dioceses, perhaps resembling Wales and Scotland more closely. Cumberland was described in the 1840s as ‘A maritime county of England ... All but the north part of this country is very hilly, or even mountainous ... [with] some heights exceeding 3000 feet. ... There is good pasturage even among the hills, and the arable land is fertile.’ Westmorland ‘is a mountainous country; two ridges cross the county, with peaks about 3000 feet high, and run towards the sea to the south west ... There are some vales fruitful in corn and pastures, and the hills serve to feed a great number of sheep.’¹ Such terrain led to a thinly distributed population: even in 1801, much of the area covered by the mediaeval diocese had on average fewer than 100 persons per 1000 acres,² and the 1903 *Survey Atlas* showed scattered farmsteads but few villages of any size on land over 600 feet.³ In the clerical taxation record of 1291, only ninety-four parishes are recorded in the diocese, just over one percent of those it recorded in England.⁴ If a parish district must be productive and populous enough to support a priest, a church building and often an absentee rector, parishes in the uplands covering much of the diocese must have been of vast extent. Placing these churches on a map (see map A), one finds that they clustered in valleys, leaving large tracts of moorland ecclesiastically vacant. The parish of Addingham, whose church was once on the east bank of the river Eden, is not in one of the more remote locales, and yet it covered some 10,000 acres.⁵ Some other parishes must have been several times as large. The maps in Nicholson and Burn’s 1777 antiquarian work on the two counties show chapels as well, some of which may have existed in the

¹ P.B. Park and J. Arnison, ed., *National Index of Parish Registers, Vol. 10 Part 3: Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1999), 1, quoting *Barclay’s Complete and Universal English Dictionary*.

² J.W. Watson and J.B. Sissons, *The British Isles: A Systematic Geography* (London, 1964), 228: a map based on the 1801 census.

³ *Survey Atlas*, plates 13, 16 and 17.

⁴ *Taxatio*, 318-20. The number should properly be at least 96. Lanercost Priory also served as a parish church (see below) and the survey omitted Holy Trinity, Carlisle: D.R. Perriam, ‘An Unrecorded Carlisle Church: The Church of Holy Trinity, Caldewgate’, *TCWAAS* n.s. 79 (1979), 51-55.

⁵ C.J. Gordon, ‘A Submerged Church in the River Eden’, *TCWAAS* n.s. 14 (1914), 328-36 plus plates.

thirteenth century: though some were further from streams, many of those were castle chapels.¹ The placing of churches near rivers likely reflects where most people chose to live if they could. However, if mediaeval settlement patterns in the hills tended towards dispersed farmsteads instead of nucleated settlements, getting to church at all, especially in wintry weather, would have tested the devotion of hill-dwellers. Alternately, if the uplands were used primarily as summer pastures, access to churches would have been a seasonal problem in the opposite direction. Because ‘relatively few churches were established in the dales ... “corpse roads” became a feature of the landscape, being used to convey the dead from isolated villages to the nearest church’, indicating the existence of such villages, but these roads cannot easily be dated.²

The most densely settled area of the diocese was probably the Solway Plain, a fertile lowland crescent of Cumberland along the shores of the Solway Firth, including the area of Carlisle itself. The city of Carlisle, with its Franciscan and Dominican friaries, its school, and the cathedral doubling as a parish church, would be fertile ground for a case study. However, the phenomena of friars, schools and parochial worship in cathedrals have been considered already elsewhere in this thesis, and Summerson has given perceptive analyses of the first and second of these aspects of Carlisle.³ Carlisle did have the only Augustinian cathedral chapter in England, however, and the only regular one in the dioceses studied here, so the cathedral parishioners’ experience would probably differ from that of the parishioners who worshipped in Lincoln Cathedral’s nave.

Throughout this thesis, the sources used have made it much easier to discuss developments in towns than in rural areas. The extant *acta* and cartularies from Carlisle diocese permit deeper,

¹ J. Nicholson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (in 2 vols., London, 1777); map of Westmorland facing title page in vol. I, map of Cumberland facing title page in vol. II.

² B.P. Hindle, ‘Medieval Roads in the Diocese of Carlisle’, *TCWAAS* n.s. 77 (1977), 83-95, at 85.

³ Summerson, *Carlisle*, 88, 166-68 (school); 158-64, 168-69 (friars); 169-70 (Church in Carlisle generally).

though different, examination of the countryside, and our attention can be more profitably directed there.

The Carmelite Friars settled at Appleby, along the Eden River, perhaps as early as 1281, certainly by 1293.¹ The Eden valley, along which many parish churches were situated, was part of the main route between Carlisle and York (see maps A-E), where the Carmelites had settled in mid-century.² Appleby was the only town in the diocese to have two parish churches (except Carlisle, which had four), and only these two towns in the diocese sent members to Parliament in the thirteenth century.³ We have seen above that, outside their towns, the friars were most likely to be found along well-travelled roads, so not only could Carmelites travel up towards Carlisle or down towards York, but also the Franciscans and Dominicans from the cathedral city were probably frequent visitors. In 1300 there were twelve Carmelites at Appleby,⁴ and they had success in recruiting locally. John of Kirkoswald (a parish about twenty miles downstream), OCarm, was ordained priest in 1305.⁵ While Walter of Newbiggin OCarm, ordained acolyte and subdeacon in 1307, may have come from any of the seven northern English places of that name, six are within twenty miles of Appleby, one just seven miles down the Eden.⁶ The other Carmelite ordinands in these years were mostly of northern origin, such as Richard and Alexander of Alnwick (Northumberland), John of Selby (North Yorkshire) and Robert of York, while a southern connection is found in John of Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire).⁷ Success in local recruitment probably indicates that the Carmelites were having some impact.

¹ *MCHEW*, 3-4. Note that the list on p. 2 gives more leeway to pre-1290 dates than Egan does in the text.

² Summerson, *Carlisle*, 73; see maps A – E following this chapter.

³ *Valor*, 319; Hindle, 'Medieval Roads', 85.

⁴ *MRH*, 234.

⁵ *Reg. Halton* I, 244.

⁶ *Reg. Halton* I, 279; *AA Atlas*.

⁷ *Reg. Halton* I, 272, 280, 187, 281, 279.

The Austin Friars arrived around 1291,¹ settling at Penrith, another area near a river that was fairly well settled. There were nine parish churches within a five-mile radius of the friary, including one in the town. Penrith was also a market town before 1300 and, since Roman times, a crossroads: the main Roman road from Carlisle (now the A6) followed not the more populous Eden valley but the more direct Petteril valley, dividing at Penrith to go south by Shap or southeast up the Eden by Appleby to York.² There were only eight Austins here in 1300.³ Recruitment seems to have been problematic in a corridor between the Carmelites at Appleby on one hand and the Franciscans and Dominicans at Carlisle on the other. Only three Austins occur in ordination lists between 1292 and 1324: one was from Ludlow (Shropshire), Simon de Land may have been from one of the two Lunds in Yorkshire and perhaps Roger de Pulton hailed from Paulton near Bath.⁴ The order apparently had to import friars from areas with higher recruitment rates to maintain its presence. With a smaller convent in a smaller town, no visible local recruitment, and better-established competition, the Austins' impact was likely felt only in the neighbouring parishes to the west of the Eden.

The Augustinian Priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Lanercost, on the north bank of the River Irthing, was never the centre of a nucleated settlement, but it was along the main route to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, approximately following Hadrian's Wall.⁵ Lanercost has left us not only its famous chronicle but also its cartulary. When the priory was founded, around 1169, it was in Walton parish, the church of which was two miles east of the priory.⁶ Walton had a dependent chapel at Triermain, three miles northeast of the priory, and the new

¹ Roth I, 324.

² Hindle, 'Medieval Roads', 85; see maps A and E following this chapter.

³ Roth I, 325.

⁴ *Reg. Halton* I, 38, 263; II, 27; *AA Atlas*.

⁵ H. Summerson and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria* (Kendal, 2000), 21; Summerson, *Carlisle*, 73; Hindle, 'Medieval Roads'; maps A, C and D following this chapter.

⁶ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 3-5.

foundation was on land in Triermain's chapelry district. Walton and Triermain, along with the nearby churches of Irthington, Brampton, Carlatton and Farlam, were part of Lanercost's original endowment.¹ By 1180, they also held the more distant churches of Lazonby and Grinsdale.² Between 1196 and 1203, the archdeacon of Carlisle, acting in the absence of an installed bishop, granted the canons of Lanercost permission to serve their parish churches either themselves or through their own chaplains rather than through instituted vicars.³ Bishop Bernard gave episcopal sanction to the arrangement between 1203 and 1214, and Pope Lucius III had confirmed the privilege as early as 1185, provided that three or four canons reside together, one of whom would be presented to the bishop and instituted as vicar.⁴ But did the canons ever actually serve these churches themselves?

Lanercost's regular community was never very numerous; Summerson suggests that only in the thirteenth century did it exceed thirteen canons.⁵ The foundation could hardly have served more than one parish church at a time unless perhaps canons could be sent out to nearby churches day by day but remain resident at the Priory. Reference is made to secular vicars at Walton in 1252 and 1287⁶ and Irthington in 1224-25 and 1275,⁷ while the advowson of the vicarage of Lazonby was surrendered to the bishop in 1272.⁸ Carlatton was not firmly in the Priory's possession until the fourteenth century, and neither the archdeacon nor the bishop had given permission for canons to serve it.⁹ Lazonby and Grinsdale were also rather distant for maintaining due supervision of regular clergy. Triermain, however, was not.

¹ *Lan. Cart.*, 1, 170-71.

² *Lan. Cart.*, 36-39, 93-95.

³ *Lan. Cart.*, 173; = *Archid. Acta*, 12. Triermain is not mentioned.

⁴ *Lan. Cart.*, 174 (= *EEA* 30, 25), 190.

⁵ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 20.

⁶ *Lan. Cart.*, 184, 238.

⁷ *Lan. Cart.*, 226, 225.

⁸ *Lan. Cart.*, 211; = *EEA* 30, 152.

⁹ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 5; *Lan. Cart.*, 173, 174; *Reg. Halton* I, 299-300; II, 33-35.

Triermain was not among the churches which the canons had been expressly permitted to serve personally, yet it is the one church in which we know they did. By 1252, Triermain's chapelry district was called a *parochia* and the canons were to have the chapel served at their expense, though mortuary dues still went to the vicar of Walton.¹ In 1237, an inquisition heard the depositions 'of elders' (*antiquorum*) that

the Prior and canons had caused that chapel [Triermain] to be served sometimes by their canons and sometimes by seculars, and all the men of Triermain received all their ecclesiastical sacraments at Lanercost, giving all kinds of oblations and tithes there, and doing all other such things that pertain to be done by parishioners to their mother church.²

Sacramenta ecclesiastica seems to refer to baptism and burial, which had previously been received at Walton parish church (*ecclesia*), though other rites may have been included, justifying the plural *sacramenta*. This inquisition by papal judges-delegate regarded Lanercost's obligation to have the chapel served in divine service two days a week to pray for the soul of Roland de Vaux, who had given Walton, Triermain and other churches to the priory: the canons were derelict in this duty, perhaps hoping that the chapel would be abandoned and that all the people of its *parochia* would come to Lanercost for service, as eventually happened. For the time being, however, the priory agreed to have divine service celebrated twice a week at Triermain;³ it was not stipulated by whom, and it was probably easier and cheaper to send a canon than to find a secular priest. Only liturgical provision is mentioned, but when canons served the chapel and no secular priest was around, a designated canon presumably performed pastoral duties. In 1287 the vicar of Walton renounced any rights in the chapel, and Bishop Ralph referred to it as

¹ *Lan. Cart.*, 183.

² 'Prior et conventus fecerunt servire unam capellam quandoque per canonicos suos et quandoque per seculares, et omnes homines de Treuerman perceperunt omnia sacramenta sua ecclesiastica apud Lanercost', oblationes et decimas omnimodas ibi redditentes, et omnia alia facientes que contingunt parochianis facere ecclesie sue matri.' *Lan. Cart.*, 346.

³ *Lan. Cart.*, 352-54.

the chapel of the church of Lanercost.¹ Triermain's appearance as Walton's chapel in the 1291 clerical taxation was anachronistic.² By 1314 the nave of the priory church had become the place of worship for the Lanercost/Triermain parish and had a secular vicar.³ Summerson argues that the choir screen was not solid 'so that people in the nave could observe the performance of divine service in the choir.'⁴ Even with a small community of canons, this would have provided a more dramatic liturgical backdrop than most parish churches could aspire to.

The Premonstratensian abbey of Shap in Westmorland, twenty miles south of Penrith along the river Lowther, used its privilege to serve parish churches through canons. Shap parish church, one mile east, was given to the priory as part of the foundation and confirmed by Bishop Bernard.⁵ Bampton parish church, six miles north down the Lowther valley, was also acquired early.⁶ In 1263, Bishop Robert de Chaury confirmed these appropriations, and noted,

having respect for their poverty ... we grant to them, for ourselves and our successors, that they may serve in the foresaid churches through two or three of their canons, *just as they have always been accustomed to do*, of whom one shall be presented to us and to our successors as vicar ... on the condition, however, that they shall have in each parish church one secular chaplain who may hear confessions and do other things that cannot be done properly by the canons.⁷

This privilege was confirmed in similar terms in 1287 and 1295; in the latter year a canon was presented to Shap and instituted vicar, and in

¹ *Lan. Cart.*, 238, 240.

² *Taxatio*, 318.

³ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 12-13.

⁴ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 13.

⁵ *EEA* 30, 28, 29; H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), 168-70.

⁶ *EEA* 30, 117, 123; Colvin, *White Canons*, 169-70; Nicholson and Burn, *Westmorland and Cumberland* I, 461. According to Nicholson and Burn, Shap and Bampton parishes adjoined.

⁷ '...habentes iterum respectum ad paupertatem eorum ... concedimus eisdem pro nobis et successoribus nostris ut liceat eis in predictis ecclesiis per duos canonicos suos vel tres deservire *sicut semper consueverunt* quorum unus nobis et successoribus nostris presentetur vicarius ... ita tamen quod in qualibet ecclesia habeant unum capellanum secularem qui audiat confessiones ac alia faciat que per eos non possunt decenter expediri.' *EEA* 30, 161; italics mine.

1300 Bampton received a canon as vicar.¹ When the parish church of Warcop (thirty miles east) was appropriated to Shap in 1307, the same arrangement was made, the former prior being instituted vicar the next year.² Shap, unlike Lanercost, could afford to export personnel, though it is tempting to believe that the vicars of Bampton and especially Shap returned to the priory at nightfall or at some other point each day.

The people of Shap had one further feature in their ecclesiastical landscape: another Carmelite settlement. No record of the Carmelites of Shap appears in Knowles' *Medieval Religious Houses* nor in Egan's list in *Carmel in Britain I*, but on 18 December 1293, the bishop ordained two Carmelites, Thomas of Coldal and Gilbert of Slegill, each described as 'de ordine Carmelitorum de Hepp' (as Shap was then spelt).³ The latter was doubtless another Carmelite of local origin, as Slegill is four miles north of Shap, while 'Coldal' might refer to Keld, one mile southwest of Shap.⁴ No further mention is made of these men or their settlement in Halton's register, but nothing on the manuscript suggests an error by the original registrar.⁵ Some of the land around Shap exceeded 1,000 feet in elevation and cannot have been densely populated: a marginal area just ten miles from Appleby would have been ideal for a Carmelite hermitage, and hermits did not necessarily cut themselves off from visitors. Gilbert appears being ordained priest and could have heard confessions, but if he was at Shap to escape the hurly-burly of Appleby, he probably did not leave his hermitage much, so his potential sphere of influence would be restricted to the distance people were willing to travel to meet with him. Since the mediaeval road from Carlisle to Kendal (now the A6) passed through Shap, it was

¹ *EEA* 30, 201; *Reg. Halton I*, 39-41, 122-23. The vicar of Bampton resigned due to age in 1309 and was replaced by another canon: *Reg. Halton I*, 319-20.

² *Reg. Halton I*, 292-94; II, 33.

³ *Reg. Halton I*, 24-25.

⁴ *AA Atlas* does not list Keld, but it is shown in *Survey Atlas*, plate 17. There is also a 'Keldhead' six miles northwest. The index of *AA Atlas* gives no other obvious alternatives, though a comprehensive search of works on place-names might uncover some.

⁵ Cumbria Record Office, Ms. DRC/1/1, pp. 11-12, as reproduced by Harvester Microfilms, *Church Authority and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Britain: The Episcopal Registers*, Part 3 Reel 6 (Brighton, 1986).

reasonably accessible from the populous area around Penrith, through which the same road passed, resulting in still more competition for the Austins.¹

At least one chapel and two other parish churches in the diocese were served by regular clergy in the thirteenth century.² Little Salkeld was a chapel of Addingham parish on the east bank of the Eden; the parish with both churches was appropriated to Carlisle Cathedral Priory, and Bishop Mauclerc had given an endowment to support ‘two canons regular as chaplains to celebrate divine service in [Salkeld chapel] for ever’.³ At Askham, five miles south of Penrith, an Augustinian Canon of Warter Priory (East Yorkshire) resigned the vicarage in 1295; the Priory presented another of its canons, who was instituted by the bishop provided that he keep a fellow canon with him.⁴ At Orton, six miles south-east of Shap, one Augustinian Canon of Conishead Priory (Lancashire) replaced another as vicar in 1280 or 1281; both predecessor and successor were required to have a fellow canon and a secular chaplain, but the parishioners were to receive the sacraments from the canons, while the chaplain would take on duties contrary to the Augustinian Rule or which could not be done decently (*salva religionis honestate prosequi non deceret*).⁵ The Dominicans found little opposition to pastoral ministry in the same Rule, but it prohibited travelling alone, so visitation of the sick or of women coming to childbed likely fell to the chaplain. Bishop Ralph noted at this presentation that living under the discipline of a rule gave knowledge and good morals that would enrich the canons’ care of souls: this is striking but perhaps unsurprising given that he too was an Augustinian Canon.

¹ See map E following this chapter.

² Guisborough Priory (OSA, York diocese) was permitted in 1287 to serve their parish church of Bridekirk, at the western extremity of Carlisle diocese, through a canon with *socius* and chaplain: *EEA* 30, 191. However, when a canon was instituted vicar in 1307, two previous vicars were mentioned, both secular: *Reg. Halton* I, 284-85.

³ Summerson, *Carlisle*, 154, his translation; see also *EEA* 30, 169.

⁴ *Reg. Halton* I, 54-55.

⁵ *EEA* 30, 172. The vicarage fell vacant in 1294, and another canon was given custody of it for about three months, until a secular vicar was instituted: *Reg. Halton* I, 6, 8.

Such was not always the case. In 1258, Robert, the cathedral prior, resigned to forestall his removal by the bishop, who sent him and another canon to live at the church of Corbridge (Durham diocese), where Robert was instituted rector. Somehow the fellow canon left and within months Robert was living in such scandalous dissolution that Carlisle Cathedral Priory besought the pope to order him back to the cloister.¹ Robert was apparently a bad egg before he arrived at Corbridge, and the situation smacks of Bishop Robert exporting a problematic member for the sake of the priory rather than presenting responsibly to the care of souls. But sending canons to act as vicars was clearly well established in the Northwest,² probably because the less fertile terrain made it all the more important for religious houses there to make the most of their endowments: the vicarages of these large parishes were often generous, and this way most vicarial revenues could be diverted to support members of the convent. In exchange for his poverty, the chaplain might at least receive good instruction in liturgical practice, which he might take to a better-paid cure elsewhere, while the parishioners benefited from more elaborate liturgical service. Perhaps canons in this region also had enough of remoteness to satisfy their desire for solitude and thus were considerably more willing than their urban brethren to embrace the active side of their tradition,³ following the example of the cathedral priory which had become accustomed to external cares during the long years in which the diocese was episcopally acephalous.

The diocese of Carlisle appears very different from Lincoln and Exeter. Its ecclesiastical organisation, shaped by geography in the forms of history, terrain and relative poverty, led to large parishes, a weaker bishop and a greater role for canons regular.⁴ Its situation in

¹ *EEA* 30, 129; *CPL* I, 361-62; *Fasti* Monastic, 22.

² The trend continued in the fourteenth century; e.g. *Reg. Halton* I, 277, 325.

³ Cf. D. Postles, 'The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350', *BIHR* 66 (1993), 1-20.

⁴ In addition to the service of parishes and a background for several of its bishops, we find R., sub-prior of the cathedral, assisting in diocesan administration in 1267-68 (*Lan. Cart.*, 314, 208).

the Province of York also precluded much impetus for reform coming from or via Canterbury. The diocesan statutes might have done much to inform the clergy what their bishop expected of them, and the long-established school in Carlisle can only have improved the general level of literacy and capability among the clergy, though the lack of registers before 1292 allows us few glimpses of episcopally-enforced reform. Although the friars arrived early and a school existed in Carlisle by 1200, much else in the ecclesiastical landscape, especially further from Carlisle or the main overland routes, may have borne closer comparison with other English dioceses fifty or more years before rather than at the same time. The peculiar blend of what might be called old and new made pastoral care in the diocese of Carlisle very different from the other parts of England studied in this thesis. The characteristics of this under-studied diocese should act as a strong corrective to cavalierly universal descriptions of the developments in church life in thirteenth-century England.

By 1300, it was also on the verge of the Anglo-Scottish wars, resulting in social upheaval reflected by a revised parochial taxation table showing, in some cases, a massive diminution of ecclesiastical revenues.¹ The Lanercost Chronicle records that the priory was ‘destroyed’ (*destructa*) by the Scots in 1296,² though this seems an overstatement as it was finished in the early fourteenth century.³ Carlisle suffered badly as well that year, though as it had been consumed by fire in 1291, losing its cathedral and the Franciscan convent buildings, much of what was lost may have been temporary structures.⁴ Nonetheless, the capacity for recovery throughout the region was choked by repeated raids from the North over the ensuing decades, reinforcing the lower productivity of land and consequent low population density that had been among the defining factors of its peculiar ecclesiastical evolution.

¹ *Taxatio*, 318-20; *Reg. Halton* I, xviii, 195-97; II, 183-89.

² *Lan. Chron.*, 174.

³ Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 12-15.

⁴ Summerson, *Carlisle*, 177-79, 193-94.

Conclusion

Despite the advent of the friars and the coexistence of monks and canons, the primary providers of pastoral care in thirteenth-century England remained the parish clergy. The progress of improvement of parish ministry in the twelfth century, connected to the Gregorian Reform movement, may have been severely impeded by the interdict of 1208-1214, but the hierarchy of the English Church and the position of the parish in local life re-emerged with renewed vigour in the following years. The increasing emphasis on the care of souls and the parish clergy who provided most of it, evident at this time across Latin Christendom, was held up in England until released as by a burst dam in the late 1210s. The disruption of the interdict may also have provided leading churchmen with an opportunity to press for more far-reaching reforms than they might have achieved otherwise. These included increasing episcopal control over the institution of parish clergy, enabling bishops to weed out unsuitable clergy.¹ Standards of education and behaviour, apparently already on the rise in the twelfth century, could thus be enforced more effectively. The uses to which this authority was put expanded from basic literacy and sobriety early in the century via directives to learn some moral theology to Pecham's mandatory preaching syllabus and Quinel's enforced use of a substantial tract on confession.

Pastoralia themselves reflect this trend in an inverse bell curve of sophistication: from the 'inter-conciliar' works that were well-intentioned but comparatively inaccessible, such as Gerald of Wales' *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, there was a descent to the simple pedagogical genius of Poore's statutes and Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*, followed by a steady increase in the linguistic complexity of statutes to the Wells/York/Carlisle group and ultimately to the legislation of Quinel and Pecham. The sophistication of the Latin used and the ideas

¹ *Acta Stephani Langton*, xxxv-xxxvii; C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), 136-39.

presented both demanded increasing ability of the reader and reflected an assumption that this was a reasonable expectation. If our case study of parish liturgy is a fair indication, liturgical pastoral care in the parish church was increasing in complexity, perhaps in part at the behest of the laity who provided the liturgical books and were already accepting an increasing level of responsibility for the buildings in which most liturgies took place. If parish clergy were becoming noticeably better-educated and -behaved, it would presumably improve their prestige within the communities that they served. If the increased lay involvement at the parish level may be read as a response to better pastoral care administered by a reformed parochial clergy, then pastoral care was 'working' in the sense that through it the Church was gaining ground against the competition that it described as the world, the flesh and the devil.

Nonetheless, these developments did not occur without reference to the regular clergy, especially the friars. From the time of their arrival, the mendicants combined higher standards of education and behaviour with a flexibility to pastoral demand that parishes could not always provide. Because of his itinerancy, a friar could easily preach to and shrive far more individuals in a year than a parish priest, enabling mendicant pastoral care to make its influence felt far out of proportion to the relative numbers of friars and parish priests. Only in liturgy could the parish clergy effectively compete, though indications of laypeople choosing to attend mendicant rather than parish liturgies demonstrate that some urban and suburban parish clergy still struggled. Moorman was likely correct to suggest that competition from the friars goaded parish clergy into action, though he probably underestimated how effectively the latter rose to the challenge.

The relationship between friars and parish priests is easier to study as successive disputes than as (witting or unwitting) co-operation in the care of souls. The ecclesiastical systems in which they worked were separate, and there is little overlap in the relevant

historiography, as a comparison of the footnotes in parts I and II of this thesis will readily confirm. But if we wish to move beyond the history of the institutional church, both secular and regular, to the laity towards whom its efforts were directed, we must look up from below as the laity did at an evolving and fluid church of interactive elements. Because voluntary lay offerings over and above tithes supported so much of the provision of pastoral care – whether in decorating the nave, donating candles for the mass, augmenting the vicar's stipend, feeding friars, leaving *ex voto* donations at shrines, or purchasing indulgences –, it is artificial to consider ecclesiastical organisation as merely an imposition upon the laity, for it only flourished as it did by the active support of many of them.

This was especially true of the friars, and not only monetarily. The laity were under little pressure to attend their sermons, except insofar as communal expectations encouraged attendance at the parish church where a friar occasionally preached; and they certainly had no obligation to confess to friars. Rather, they were willing to fight for the right to do both. If we accept – as I believe we must – that the composite of pastoral care on offer constituted what we should now call a 'marketplace of religion', then the competition between secular and mendicant clergy for market share is only the supply side of the economic equation. The increasing complexity of the thirteenth-century Church opened new opportunities to the laity for choice and demand, and it may not be too much of a stretch to describe them as consumers of pastoral care. Where once only the well-born could choose their confessors, peasants and tradesmen could pick between their parish priest and any available friar, and occasionally a monk or canon regular. Between 1221 and 1267, within living memory, the number of pastorally-active mendicant orders in England went from zero to six, and might well have expanded further still had not the Second Council of Lyons clamped down on new orders in 1274. Whatever their attitude toward novelty, thirteenth-century English

laity were enthusiastic about choice, even if the criteria by which they chose are not always clear today.

Geographical case studies, however, remind us that choice was not evenly distributed. By 1300, the wealthy town of Boston had one friary of each of the main mendicant orders, the same number as the whole diocese of Carlisle. Cornish speakers probably had to wait longer than Anglophones for ready access to friars in the Southwest. While some people travelled to distant saints' shrines to be healed, most probably tried local ones first. Canons regular serving as vicars added variety to the ecclesiastical landscape, but not necessarily choice. Village-dwellers could attend mass much more readily than shepherds grazing their flocks in summer hill pastures. From our limited evidence, friars active far from their convents stayed near major roadways. In diocesan and provincial statutes, parish clergy were given detailed written instruction in the care of souls decades earlier in some dioceses than others. The instructions that they were given differed on such important issues as the minimum frequency of confession, the pastoral privileges of friars, whether to give the chalice to the laity, and what articles of faith and morals the laity were to be taught. Varying levels of episcopal and archidiaconal authority and diligence disciplined parish clergy unevenly across the country.

Despite the vigour and progress of thirteenth-century reform of the care of souls, no united reform movement is to be identified. The coming of the friars, debates over the Eucharist, disagreement about the frequency of confession and the appropriate times for baptism, lingering minsters in a world of parishes, new optimism about religious life outside the cloister, rapidly developing styles of preaching, and many other elements made for an increasingly complex ecclesiastical world. Thirteenth-century English church reform could thus be more or less ubiquitous without being universal, much less standardised. If, as I have argued, pastoral care 'worked' in that it changed religious expectations, aspirations, devotions and reactions, then it follows that variations in pastoral care created

different environments of lay religion and bequeathed them to the later Middle Ages.¹ It might have surprised Thomas More to know that the Catholic religious environment of England in which he published *Utopia* in 1516, and which he later died rather than forswear, was so few generations removed from one in which, as in his satirical country, there were 'dyvers kyndes of religion ... in sondry partes of the Ilande.'

¹ E.g. A. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford, 1995); J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries* (Woodbridge, 1988).

Select Bibliography

Shortened titles have generally been used in the footnotes. Entries in the Abbreviations at the beginning of this thesis have not been reproduced here. Abbreviated titles are used in the bibliography for journals and books from which individual articles are cited.

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- | | |
|-----------|---|
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British Library, Cotton Charter V.33
Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 357 (consulted on microfilm) |
| Oxford | Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat.th.e.24
Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 25
Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 655 (consulted in typescript of J. Goering) |
| Cambridge | Peterhouse College, Ms. 255 part iii (consulted by digital image) |
| Lincoln | Lincolnshire Archive Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments, Ms. Dij/64/2, no. 7 |
| Carlisle | Cumbria Record Office, Ms. DRC/1/1, as reproduced by Harvester Microfilms, <i>Church Authority and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Britain: The Episcopal Registers</i> , part 3 reel 6 (Brighton, 1986) |
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